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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 430



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'SHIJIE LISHI' ON 'PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE'

HK060853 Beijing SHIJIE LISHI in Chinese No 1, 7 Feb 83 pp 1-9

[Article by Liu Simu [0491 1835 1970], adviser of the Institute of World History of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: "The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and Their International Significance"]

[Text] [Abstract] The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are the consistent principles for guiding the development of our relations with other countries.

This article takes Lenin's thinking on the policy of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems as its guide and has explained the historical background and theoretical basis of our initiating and implementing the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. In addition, it has demonstrated why the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are the guiding principles which it must observe in its adherence to an independent foreign policy [End abstract]

Peaceful coexistence is an idea put forward by Lenin after the victory of the October Revolution (1917) on the policy for handling the relations between countries with different social systems. Since the founding of the PRC, the CPC and the Chinese government has adhered to and implemented this idea and has initiated the famous Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Recently, in his report to the "12th CPC National Congress," in discussing our foreign policy Comrade Hu Yaobang has reiterated and emphasized the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Thereafter, "coexistence" and "the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" have become important criteria in international relations.

Why did Lenin put forward the idea on the policy of peaceful coexistence in those years? What are its historical background and theoretical basis? What are the historical background and historical basis of our party's and our government's initiating and implementing the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence? In order to profoundly understand their important international significance, it is necessary to probe into the questions from a historical and theoretical point of view.

I

Before the October Revolution (1917), Lenin had already demonstrated that, because of the role played by the law of the uneven capitalist political and

economic development under imperialism, "socialism cannot be achieved simultaneously in all countries. It will achieve victory first in one or a few countries, while the others will for some time remain bourgeois or prebourgeois." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 873) Lenin held that, in its transition to socialism, the whole world would pass through a historical period. Socialism and capitalism as two different social systems will exist simultaneously for a long time. ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 30, p 21) Consequently, there is the problem of how the socialist countries should handle their relations with countries with different social systems, including the imperialist countries. In September, 1919, after the smashing of Kolchak by the Red Army and when the war against Denikin was still on, Lenin had foreseen that with the victory of the war, in international relations, the "period of coexistence side by side with socialist and capitalist states" ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 30, p 21) would emerge very soon. At the same time, with the subsidence of the high tide of revolution brought about by the October Revolution (1917) in Europe, the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) explicitly proposed to shift the central task of the party onto the new track of economic construction. In the new period, as the only socialist state in the world, the Soviet Union had to break free from being isolated on the international scene and maintain a peaceful international situation as long as possible in order to carry out socialist transformation and construction. To the Soviet Union, it was both beneficial and necessary to strive to peacefully coexist with the capitalist states, establish diplomatic and economic ties with them and settle disputes with them through negotiations and other peaceful means. As for the big powers of the West, first, they organized 14 countries to carry out armed interference in the Soviet Union and tested the stability of the Soviet regime. They lost in the trial of strength. Thus, although they were bent on subjugating the Soviet Union, they were compelled to maintain peaceful relations with the Soviet regime. Second, at that time, the big powers of the West were caught in an economic crisis. Consequently, they were forced to raise a blockade against the Soviet Union. Since the Soviet Union had a large market and rich natural resources, for the sake of their own interests, "the bourgeois countries must trade with Russia; they know that unless they establish some form of economic relations their disintegration will continue in the way it has done up to now." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 185) That means, for the sake of business, the bourgeois states of the West had to put up with the peaceful coexistence and establish trade and diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Third, the economic crisis was followed by political crises. [HK060855] The contradictions within and between the bourgeois states (for example, between Britain, France and Italy, between big countries and small countries and in particular between the victorious nations and the vanquished nations) were rapidly intensified. The Soviet Union was able to make use of these contradictions to effect a breakthrough. Consequently, it was practical to strive to coexist peacefully with the capitalist states.

To peacefully coexist with countries with different social systems was not an expedient measure adopted by the socialist states but the basic principle for directing their foreign relations. The realization of such a principle was not the result of the unprincipled surrender to or compromise with imperialism but the result of the persistent struggle under the guidance of patriotism and

internationalism. At first, in the "decree on peace" declared by the Soviet Government on 8 November 1917, it was suggested that a peace treaty without annexation and without indemnities should be concluded and that the secret treaties endorsed by the imperialists should be made public and abrogated. Moreover, it proposed to abolish all the unequal treaties signed by the Czarist government and the provisional government of Kerenski with the Eastern countries. Although there are not the words peaceful coexistence in the "decree on peace," however, it contains the principles of equality, independence, self-determination and noninterference in each other's internal affairs of all the countries. In fact, it embodies Lenin's thinking on the policy of peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

By the end of 1917, in addition to recognizing the independence of its neighboring country Finland, the Soviet Union issued the declaration "to Muslim laborers of Russia and the East," declaring the abrogation of all the treaties signed by the Czarist government and the provisional government for the purpose of oppressing the Eastern countries and encroaching on their territories. In 1919 and 1920, when the war against imperialist armed interference was still on, the Soviet Government twice issued manifestoes on its policy toward China, offering to give up all the privileges seized in China by the Czarist government. In addition, it proposed to open immediately negotiations on an agreement on the establishment of trade and diplomatic relations; however, because of the anti-Soviet position of the northern warlords and the obstruction of the imperialist powers, no agreement had been reached through the negotiations. In 1921, the Soviet Government concluded treaties of friendship, which embodies the principle of peaceful coexistence, with its neighboring countries such as Turkey, Persia (Iran) and Afghanistan. All these are the examples of the efforts of the Soviet Union, a socialist state, to peacefully coexist with the precapitalist states.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union made efforts to strive for the peaceful coexistence with the capitalist and imperialist states. At that time, the measure adopted by the Soviet Union was to proceed from the establishment of normal trade relations because the establishment of such relations could facilitate the development of the national economy of the Soviet Union in the postwar period. In addition, the capitalist states, which were caught in an economic crisis, were very interested in the trade with the Soviet Union. With the establishment and development of trade relations, diplomatic recognition was out of the question. Among the European capitalist states, Britain relied on trade most. At that time, Britain's economic situation was far from good. Thus, the Soviet Union chose Britain as the prologue in its attempt to mingle itself with the capitalist states. In 1920, the Soviet Union opened negotiations with Britain first and in March 1921, the two countries signed their first trade agreement. Thus, the Soviet Union secured the de facto recognition of Britain. After that, Germany signed a trade agreement with the Soviet Union. In addition, Austria, Italy, Norway and Denmark also signed similar trade agreements with the Soviet Union. Thus, the conspiracy of the entente countries to isolate and blockade the Soviet Union suffered setbacks. In 1922, Lenin said: "We are in a position of having won conditions enabling us to exist side by side with capitalist powers, and who are now compelled to enter into trade relations with us." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 31, p 373) Lenin's prediction had come true at last.

In April 1922, the entente countries invited 29 countries, including the Soviet Union and Germany, which was one of the defeated countries, to hold an international economic conference in Genoa. [HK060857] The conference constituted a grave international struggle and an important instance of the practice of the Soviet Union in developing the new diplomacy of peaceful coexistence under the personal guidance of Lenin. Although no specific agreement had been reached at the conference, during the conference, the Soviet Union signed the Treaty of Rapallo (1922) with Germany and resumed the diplomatic relations between the two countries. In addition, they decided to include a most favored nation clause in the treaty to help promote trade between the two countries. Consequently, the imperialists' anti-Soviet front was breached. This was an important victory of Lenin's thinking on the policy of coexisting peacefully with countries with different social systems. Throughout 1924, a total of 12 European, Asian and Latin American countries established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. In 1925, Japan formally recognized the Soviet Union. Henceforth, the Soviet Union and all the capitalist states entered a relatively stable period of peaceful coexistence. During that period, although there were twists and turns, such as the breaking off of the diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Britain, nevertheless we can hardly underestimate the achievements of the policy of peaceful coexistence, the role it played in the consolidation of the Soviet regime and in the rapid development of socialist economic construction, and its international significance.

## II

After the end of World War II, with the tremendous victory of China's War of Liberation, the PRC stood towering in the East like a giant. Under the leadership of the CPC, it adhered to and implemented Lenin's idea of the policy of peaceful coexistence and with the changes in international and domestic situations, it has developed and enriched the content of Lenin's thought.

On the eve of the founding of the country, in his speech delivered at the preparatory meeting of the new CPPCC, Comrade Mao Zedong solemnly proclaimed to the whole world that: "What we oppose is solely the imperialist system and its plots against the Chinese people. We are willing to discuss with any foreign government the establishment of diplomatic relations on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, provided it is willing to sever relations with the Chinese reactionaries, stops conspiring with them or helping them and adopts an attitude of genuine, and not hypocritical, friendship towards People's China. The Chinese people wish to have friendly cooperation with the people of all countries and to resume and expand international trade in order to develop production and promote economic prosperity." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1,470) Both the "common program" adopted by the First National CPPCC and the constitution adopted by the NPC stipulate a peaceful foreign policy. They are the vivid expression of our consistently close attention to the principle of peaceful coexistence.

As compared with the Soviet Union, the first socialist state of the world, at the birth of socialist China, both international and domestic situations were even more advantageous to the pursuit of a peaceful foreign policy. As a



result of the victory of the anti-fascist World War II, the German, Italian and Japanese fascists collapsed. In addition, Britain and France diminished in strength. The Soviet Union, which had grown tremendously in strength, and the socialist states, a series of which emerged in Asia and Europe, supported China, and vice versa. At the same time, the imperialist-colonialist setup began to disintegrate and the national independence movements in Asia and Africa flourished. All these were favorable factors for our developing a peaceful line of diplomacy. Inside the country, after China's War of Liberation, which lasted for 3 years, the reactionary KMT regime backed by the U.S. imperialists was totally defeated and had escaped from China. Recovery was out of the question. Thus, in less than 3 years after the founding of the country, 19 countries established diplomatic relations with China.

[HK060859] However, the U.S. imperialists, whose military and economic strength grew tremendously during World War II, became the overlord of the capitalist world. It established NATO, pursued the Monroe Doctrine and developed the "cold war." Although at that time its vain hope of turning China into a colony of the United States had fallen through, it did not give up. It did its utmost to prevent China from restoring its legitimate seat in the United Nations. In addition, it vainly attempted to destroy Korea at one blow and then use it as the springboard for invading China. The U.S. imperialists tried to interfere, manipulate and enslave the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America through "economic aid" and "military aid." It signed treaties of military alliance with some Asian countries in order to threaten the security of China and other socialist states. The big powers of Western Europe followed the United States in opposing communism and the Soviet Union. In addition, they suppressed the national liberation movements in South-east Asia and the Middle East by force. Under such circumstances, China continued to adhere to the principle of peaceful coexistence and took it as the basis for establishing diplomatic relations with other countries, for conducting economic cooperation and for handling international relations. In this way, China could have the peaceful and favorable international conditions for socialist construction. In addition, it helped expose the aggressive policy and war policy of the imperialists and helped isolate their aggressive and fighting forces. Facts have proven that the policy of peaceful coexistence is a powerful weapon for combating hegemonism and for upholding world peace.

The United States continued to encroach on our territory in Taiwan and signed the "treaty of common defense" with the Chiang regime. This is a flagrant act of aggression committed to undermine our sovereignty, encroach on our territories and interfere in our domestic affairs. It has violated the criteria of international relations and runs counter to the principle of peaceful coexistence. During the Korean War, the U.S. imperialists manipulated the 5th UN General Assembly, made it adopt the resolution which falsely accused China and Korea of being the "aggressors," sent an invading army composed of troops from 15 countries to fight in Korea under the signboard of the "United Nations," applied sanctions against Korea and China and placed them under an embargo. Thus, we can see that, during the initial post-liberation period, although we were not as isolated as the Soviet Union was in those years, we were, however, confronted with an international situation which was quite complicated and difficult to handle.

On the other hand, China shared the experience and aspiration of, and was in a similar situation to, the countries just emancipated from colonial domination. Although their social systems were different from each other, in general international relations, and mutual relations above all, they had the common aspirations of mutual respect for sovereignty and independence, nonaggression and carrying out economic cooperation on an equal basis.

Aimed at the condition of the above two aspects, it was urgently necessary to summarize the principle of peaceful coexistence that must be observed, so that it could be concrete and more definite. It was against precisely this background that China and India put forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence first appeared in the "Agreement between the PRC and Republic of India on trade and transportation in Xizang" signed on 29 April 1954. This agreement was the result of peaceful negotiations and mutual concessions made between China and India. In the negotiations, the two countries not only reached agreements on a series of problems on Xizang, but also agreed that the five principles of: 1. Mutual respect for territorial sovereignty; 2. nonaggression; 3. noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries; 4. equality and mutual benefit; and 5. peaceful coexistence, should be the principle guiding the relations between the two countries. It was precisely the basis of this principle that led to the joint statement issued respectively between the prime ministers of China and India, and of China and Burma in June that year, which affirmed that the five principles be the universal guiding principle for dealing in international relations. The 10 principles adopted by the Asian and African conference were in fact the extension and further specification of the five principles. Up to the earlier 1960's, when Premier Zhou Enlai visited the 14 Asian and African countries, he put forward the five principles guiding China's relations with the African and Arab countries. Aimed at the situation of these nationalist countries at that time and that China as a socialist country had its bounden international duty toward them, he made some additional remarks on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

### III

[HK060901] The scientific truth of Marxism develops through practice and is carried forward in struggle. After being tempered through World War II and over half a century in the postwar period, the principle of peaceful coexistence between different social systems first put forward by Lenin was greatly developed.

At that time, the Soviet Union was the only socialist country in the world, so the problem of peaceful coexistence between socialist countries did not exist. Furthermore, the colonial system of the old type had not yet disintegrated and very few of the colonial and semicolonial countries in Asia and Africa won political independence. Consequently, the developed capitalist and imperialist countries in the West were the main countries with which the Soviet Union strove to peacefully coexist at that time. The situation of international relationship was then relatively uncomplicated. After the end of World War II, there was a rapid change in the international situation and relationships and the struggle become more and more complicated. There emerged a

series of socialist countries, which formed into a socialist camp. At first, particular emphasis was laid on unity, friendship and mutual cooperation under the guidance of the principle of proletarian internationalism in relations between the socialist countries. The target of peaceful coexistence they sought was the imperialist camp. At that time, because the imperialists launched an international adverse current against the Soviet Union, China and the communists, the "cold war" turned into partial "hot war" (such as the war in Korea). Peacefully coexisting with them in such an atmosphere would mean to "coexist in a state of cold war." The principle of peaceful coexistence was then undergoing a severe test.

Secondly, more and more countries won national independence since the early 1950's. In their relations with the old suzerain states and other imperialist countries mainly the United States, there was an aspect of dependence and also of struggle and contradiction. Economically, they were not yet free from imperialist domination, and politically, they had to struggle for their sovereignty and independence. The situation was rather complicated. With its powerful economic superiority and political pressure and through various methods of colonialism, the U.S. imperialists brought some newly independent countries into their spheres of influence and undermined their sovereignty and independence. At one time, under the fraudulent propaganda and instigation of the imperialists, some nationalist countries had doubts over the socialist countries, some were even utilized by the imperialists to oppose the socialist countries. There were both unity and contradiction in the relations between them (for instance, the difference in political systems, nationalities and religious belief, disputes over territorial boundaries and so on). Due to the disintegration and discord sowed by the imperialists, there were frequent clashes in their mutual relations, which meant that they found it difficult to peacefully coexist, and even resorted to arms.

However, the majority of these awakening independent countries demanded unity, mutual support to further oppose imperialism and colonialism, safeguarding national independence and striving for economic independence. These two inclinations of the countries were fully and typically manifested at the conference of 29 Asian and African countries including China (the Bandung Conference) held in April 1955. Although the U.S. imperialists failed to sabotage the conference, they attempted to utilize the divergence of the participating countries to stir up trouble and turn the conference into an endless debate. Some delegates even acted as agents of the United States and raised the so-called problems of "communist threat" and "subversive acts," which was aimed at China and at inciting disputes. Consequently, due to the concerted efforts made by the sponsoring countries, such as India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and Pakistan, and particularly due to the persuasive proposal of "seeking common ground while reserving differences" put forward by Premier Zhou Enlai, head of the Chinese delegation, the conference finally succeeded. On the basis of "seeking common ground while reserving differences," the communique finally affirmed to take the 10 principles as the principle of peaceful coexistence and friendly cooperation. In view of the general world trend and the popular feeling, the principle of peaceful coexistence cleared away all obstacles and radiated with dazzling splendor.



#### IV

Since the 1960's, with the concerted efforts of China and some peace-loving countries and people, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which was regarded as a guide to international relations, were accepted by many countries and its influence in the international political arena was daily increasing. This was indicated in the following respects.

[HK060953] 1. China signed "peace and friendship" (or "peace and mutual aid" and "peace and nonaggression") treaties one after another with a succession of Asian and African countries (such as Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, Guinea, Kampuchea, Indonesia, Ghana, Yemen and so on), in which both sides guaranteed to regard the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as the guiding principle for their relations.

2. In accordance with the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence and through peaceful negotiations based on mutual understanding and concessions, China signed boundary treaties with some neighboring countries (such as Burma, Nepal, Mongolia, Pakistan and Afghanistan) and solved the boundary problems left over by history.

3. The agreements signed between some countries other than China to solve their political disputes also put into their documents the main text of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, such as "mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty," "noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries" and so on. The "Agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam" signed between Vietnam and the United States in Paris in 1973 and the "Agreement on restoring peace and realizing national harmony in Laos" signed in Vientiane in the same year between the various patriotic forces of Laos and the Vientiane government were both concluded in this way.

4. The spirit of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence was also put in the declaration adopted by some international organizations or in the purpose of their declaration. For instance, the declaration issued at the end of the first conference of the nonaligned countries, attended by 25 countries and held in Belgrade in September 1961, held that the principle of peaceful coexistence was the only method to replace the "cold war" and the all-round disaster of nuclear war that may occur. The final program adopted by the second conference (held in October 1964 and attended by 47 countries) further demanded that the United Nations codify the principle of peaceful coexistence. Also in another example, the "Declaration on noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries and safeguarding the sovereignty and independence of all countries" adopted by the UNGA on December 1965 claimed that no country had the right to directly or indirectly interfere in the internal or external affairs of any other country under any excuse. The "declaration of the principle of international law on establishing friendly relations and cooperation among all nations according to the UN charter" adopted by the UNGA in 1970 also clearly pointed out: "Any attempts that aim at partly or entirely sabotaging the unification and territorial integrity of a country do not conform to the principle of the UN charter," "every country has the responsibility not to organize, instigate, financially aid or participate in the internal dispute

of another country." It is quite obvious that the stress of the two declarations of the United Nations was precisely the first and third item of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. It is thus clear that up to the present, the "gunboat diplomacy" pursued by the imperialist powers to invade other countries by resorting to force or military menace no longer works. On the contrary, the principle of peaceful coexistence which is based on justice and is advantageous to the safeguarding of world peace and international security has been generally acknowledged as a universal principle guiding international relations and has achieved international legal effect.

It must be particularly pointed that the PRC-U.S. Shanghai Joint Communiqué issued in February 1972 contained the full text of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in black and white. The communiqué declared to the whole world: "The social system and external policies of the PRC and the United States are essentially different. However, both parties agree that regardless of the social system of all countries, they should deal the relations between countries according to the principle of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, nonaggression, noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be resolved on such a basis and not resort to force or military menace. The United States and the PRC intend to practice these principles in dealing with their mutual relations." The joint communiqué also mentioned the Taiwan issue. The U.S. side expressed that it will not "raise an objection" on China's stand toward Taiwan that "Taiwan is a province of China. The liberation of Taiwan is an internal affair of China and no other country has the right to interfere" and so on. Then the communiqué on establishing diplomatic relations between the PRC and the United States signed in January 1979 not only "reaffirmed the various principles agreed by both parties in the Shanghai Communiqué" (it certainly includes the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence), "but also emphasized once again" that the U.S. Government "recognizes China's stand, that is, there is only one China and Taiwan is part of China." That is to say, according to the first three of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and through the efforts made by our side, the U.S. side accepted the three principles put forward by us on the Taiwan issue (end its diplomatic relations with Taiwan, abolish the U.S.-Taiwan treaty of common defense and withdraw its troops from Taiwan). This was a victory for the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

[HK060905] The signal development of the principle of peaceful coexistence was also manifested in the relations between China and Japan. Article 6 of the joint statement on normalizing the Sino-Japan relations signed by the two governments of China and Japan in September 1972 declared: The two governments agreed to establish long-lasting peace and friendship relations "on the basis of the various principles of peaceful coexistence." Article 1 of the "Peace and friendship treaty" signed between China and Japan in August 1978 reiterated to "develop the long-lasting peace and friendship relations between the two countries" on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. This shows that in the 1970's, when the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were more and more being accepted by the majority of nations in the world and have become established principles of international law guiding and dealing the relations between nations, without exception,

these principles were also applied to the establishment of normal relations between the United States and Japan with China and the development of friendship and cooperation relations between them. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence has great significance in the international relations and its international influence is far-reaching. However, the verbal and written acceptance of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is one thing, whether it is genuinely implemented in practice is another. As the Chinese saying goes: "Judge people by their deeds, not just by their words." Moreover, the five principles of peaceful coexistence have their correct implications, which must not be willfully explained away under any excuse. Whether the countries which have established and developed their relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence can practice these principles to the letter is a severe test for both sides. Certainly, there are also struggles among them.

## V

Since the social system of various socialist countries are the same, can we also apply the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in the relations between them? The relationship between socialist countries is a new type of international relationship. No doubt they should strengthen unity and support and aid each other on the basis of the common thinking of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, but they should also mutually observe the five principles of peaceful coexistence, regard them as the elementary requirements and standard in guiding their relations, set an example and take the lead in practicing them. Early in February 1950 before the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence was raised, China signed the "Treaty of mutual aid and friendship alliance" with another socialist state--the Soviet Union, of which the main articles had the following text: "Both contracting parties have guaranteed to develop and consolidate the economic, cultural and other relations between China and the Soviet Union in the spirit of friendship and cooperation and according to the principle of equality, mutual benefit, mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty and noninterference in the internal affairs of either party." Although there were discrepancies in expression between this guarantee and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence later put forward by China and India, they were more or less the same (the only thing missing was "nonaggression" and "peaceful coexistence," but in fact, "mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty" had already implied the meaning of "nonaggression"). It is thus obvious that during the early period after the founding of the PRC, both China and the Soviet Union had already acknowledged that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were absolutely applicable to the relations between socialist countries. This is a development of Lenin's thinking on the policy of peaceful coexistence at the new period. Although the social system of these countries belong to socialism and they are also independent sovereign states, it is impermissible to infringe upon the independence and sovereignty of neighboring countries, sabotage the territorial integrity and interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and violate the principle of equality and mutual benefit in the relations between them. Meanwhile, among the socialist countries, there were the differences of big and small nations, and long or short period of its history. But both in socialist revolution and socialist construction, they should combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of their own country and let

the party and people of various countries choose their own way, explore and solve their problems by themselves. If the socialist countries cannot handle their relations according to the principle of peaceful coexistence, but act on the contrary, how then can we talk about mutual support and embody the spirit of proletarian internationalism? It was precisely on the basis of such an understanding that Comrade Hu Yaobang emphasized in his report to the 12th CPC Congress: "The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are applicable to our relations with all countries, including socialist countries."

## VI

[HK060907] When Hu Yaobang talked about China's foreign policy in his report to the 12th CPC Congress, he pointed out: China adheres to an independent foreign policy and "integration of patriotism with internationalism has always been our basic point of departure in handling our external relations." He further pointed out: "Being patriots, we do not tolerate any encroachment on China's national dignity or interests. Being internationalists, we are deeply aware that China's national interests cannot be fully realized in separation from the overall interests of mankind. Our adherence to an independent foreign policy accords with the discharging of our lofty international duty to safeguard world peace and promote human progress." In order to pursue such a foreign policy that "proceed from the interests of the people of China and the world" and develop the relations with various countries of the world, this report repeatedly emphasized the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which shows that China was not only the first to initiate, but is also a firm defender and loyal pursuer of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Why did we attach such great importance to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence?

First, with regard to our country, the most important and key task at present is to continuously push forward the building of socialist modernization. In order to attain this task, we must persist in an open door policy and expand economic, technical and cultural exchanges with other countries, so as to strengthen our capability in self-reliance. The correct basic principle guiding international contacts and cooperation is in fact the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Either in the import of advanced foreign technology or funds or in the economic cooperation with other countries, we must practice equality and mutual benefit. The opposite party should respect our sovereignty and not take this as an excuse to interfere in our internal affairs.

Second, opposing hegemonism and safeguarding world peace is the most important task of the people of the world at present. This is particularly necessary for China, which needs a prolonged peaceful international environment to carry out the building of socialist modernization. Hegemonism is the formidable enemy of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and a menace toward world peace. If all the countries, who have the common desire to safeguard world peace, unite on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and resolutely fight with all practices of hegemonism and expansionism, and upset their plans for war, it will be possible to safeguard world peace.

Third, the report to the 12th CPC Congress particularly raised the issue of China's concrete relations with Japan, the United States and the Soviet Union.



The reason why these became problems is related to the violation of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence to a certain extent by the opposite parties. For instance, sometime ago, some forces in Japan attempted to distort and prettify the historical facts of Japan's invasion in China and Southeast Asian countries while revising their teaching materials. They put the films of "great Japan empire" on show and tried to call back the spirit of the dead war criminals, which meant that the danger of the revival of Japanese militarism was cropping up and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were despised. When the "teaching materials" issue aroused protest from China, these "forces" in Japan did not admit their fault, but on the contrary accused China for "interfering" in the "internal affairs" of Japan. This cannot but arouse high vigilance of the people of China, Japan and other countries. Here is another example, after the United States established normal diplomatic relations with China, it immediately formulated and stuck to the "Taiwan Relations Act," which was contradictory to the joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. They thought in such a way they could "legalize" their continuous creation of two Chinas and their arms sale to Taiwan, which undermined the normal Sino-U.S. relations. When China maintained and demanded to rescind the "Taiwan Relations Act" and remove the obstacles in the development of Sino-U.S. relations, there were also "certain forces" in the United States, which claimed that this proposed law was formulated and adopted by the U.S. Congress and was within the "range of internal affairs" and its "legal effectiveness" was beyond the joint communique on establishing diplomatic relations between China and the United States, and conversely they asserted that China's attack against the "Taiwan Relations Act" was "interfering" in the "internal affairs" of the United States. Just imagine, if a state formulates a law by itself and gets the right to violate the sovereignty and interfere in the internal affairs of another country, which can be "legalized." Is this logic not absurd? [HK060909] After negotiations, were held between the governments of China and the United States which lasted over a year, a joint communique was issued, which made a decision on the reduction of U.S. arms sale to Taiwan, over a period of time, to a final resolution. However, before the ink was dry, the United States went back on its word and claimed that "its policy toward Taiwan has not changed" and that the U.S. Government will continue to implement the "Taiwan Relations Act" and even asserted that the termination of U.S. arms sale to Taiwan should be "linked with the guarantee made by the Chinese side on realizing peaceful unification." Time and again we have stated that the unification of Taiwan with the motherland was entirely an internal affair of China, in which no other country should be allowed to interfere. The above speeches made by the United States have, in fact, undermined the peaceful unification of China, played the role of obstructing Taiwan's return to the motherland and was widely divergent from the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Here is another example. Recently, the Soviet Union deployed troops in the millions at the Sino-Soviet and Sino-Mongolian border, supported Vietnam in its military occupation of Kampuchea, including Laos, and its continuous armed provocation at the frontier of China and Thailand, and under the pretext of "legal acts" of dispatching troops "under the request of the Afghan Government," the Soviet Union occupied China's neighbor Afghanistan, thereby encircling China from three sides and seriously endangering the security of China and the peace of Asia. In early October, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Ilichev visited China and

held talks with the Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. Later on, when the Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua attended the funeral ceremony for Brezhnev in Moscow, he continued to hold negotiations on the matter with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. As Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his talk with the French reporters: "The Chinese side sincerely wishes to clear away all obstacles harmful to the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations, so that the normal relations between the two countries will step on the path of healthy development." We hold that the key to whether the Sino-Japan and Sino-U.S. relations can healthily develop and be stable for a long time to come, and whether the Sino-Soviet relations can be normalized, depend on whether the opposite side can strictly observe the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and put them into practice.

There is no obstruction on our part. China not only sticks to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence but means what it says. It states to the whole world that "we do not station a single soldier abroad, nor have we occupied a single inch of foreign land. We have never infringed upon the sovereignty of another country, or imposed an unequal relationship upon it." (Quoted from "Report to the 12th CPC Congress") Since the founding of the PRC, although China was compelled to participate in some self-defensive wars, China spared no efforts to restrain itself and immediately after the task of self-defense was completed, withdrew its troops on its own initiative without leaving a single soldier. Even though in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, immediately after the armistice agreement was signed, China withdrew all of its volunteers, unlike the U.S. troops which still held onto the territory of South Korea under the pretext of "UN troops." The leaders of our country have repeatedly stressed that "China will never seek hegemony under any circumstances." This is because we were "always true in words and resolute in deeds." In the past 23 years, China has established diplomatic relations with 125 countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

## VII

Among the 100-odd countries that have established diplomatic relations with China, the developing countries of the Third World account for the majority. First of all, they confront with the common task of safeguarding national independence and territorial integrity and actively developing national economy, so that they can consolidate the already-achieved political independence with their economic independence. In the past 2 years, the range of contention between the two superpowers have been increasingly expanded, many of the Third World countries had to bear the brunt and their independence and sovereignty were threatened. Although their national economy has developed in varying degrees, they still could not break through the restrictions of the unequal old international order. They had economic cooperation with the developed capitalist countries, for instance, some tens of countries participated in the European Economic Community--African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries affiliated under the Lome' Convention through constant struggles, still they could not achieve genuine equality and mutual benefit. There were still difficulties in carrying out worldwide negotiations and improving the economic relations between the north and the south. In addition, there was no sign of a favorable turn in the long-term of economic recession (the so-called stagnation) in the capitalist world and the trade contention between Japan and the

United States and Western Europe was getting fiercer with each passing day; therefore, they were bound to shift the economic crisis toward the Third World and seriously affect their economic development. It was extremely difficult for the majority of the poor countries of the Third World to carry out economic cooperation with these countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, particularly on the basis of genuine equality and mutual benefit. [HK060911] However, the territory of the Third World countries (including China) makes up over two-thirds of the whole world and their population over three-fourths of mankind. They have abundant natural resources and broad markets, of which the economy and technology of some countries have already been developed to a relatively high level. Therefore, the countries of the Third World can and should carry out economic cooperation and support each other. This is what we call "South-South Cooperation." Such a collective self-reliant force will be greatly conducive to breaking through the present unequal international economic order and setting up a new and just order. China is a developing socialist country and belongs to the Third World. China and the majority of the Third World countries had common sufferings in the past and now confront the same problems. Together with the rest of the Third World countries, China has not only regarded their struggle to oppose imperialism, hegemonism and colonialism as its sacred international duty, but also exerted her utmost to support them. Whether in cooperation of mutual benefit or providing assistance, China has always acted according to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and strictly respected the sovereignty of both parties, without attaching any conditions and seeking any privileges. We have acted in such a way in the past, and along with the economic development of China in the future, we will, as always, continuously strengthen the mutual cooperation with the Third World countries. Under the premise of adhering to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, we have actively proposed and are willing to take the lead to pursue and expand the "South-South Cooperation."

As for the mutual economic cooperation among the rest of the Third World countries, one of the most important preconditions is to strengthen unity. It is true that since the end of World War II, the Third World countries have formed several regional and international organizations, such as the Organization of African Unity, the Arab League, the Conference of Islam States, the Nonalignment Movement, the Group of 77, OPEC and so on. These organizations have played a certain role in the international political arena and within and outside the United Nations. However, on the other hand, due to the difference of concrete conditions in nationality, religion, political system and so on between the various countries of the Third World, which consequently became contradiction between each other. A number of countries were not getting along well because of the historical problems, such as territory and boundary disputes and so on left over by the colonial epoch, some even led to armed conflicts, and what is more, the hegemonists, imperialists and colonialists sowed discord, which added fuel to the fire. There have been 470 partial wars in the post-war period, of which the majority were fought between the Third World countries. The war between Iran and Iraq, which lasted for over a year, is a most typical example. Due to the existence and intensification of such divergences and disputes, the unity of the Organization of African Unity, the Arab League and the Conference of Islam States was affected. "We are deeply disturbed by the discords, going as far as armed conflicts, that have occurred

between some Third World countries. They often cause heavy losses to both sides and at times allow the hegemonists to pick easy gains." (Quoted from "Report to the 12th CPC Congress") In order to prevent such events that "sadden the friends and gladden the enemies" and to clear away the obstacles before the mutual cooperation between the Third World countries, in addition to UN mediation and that of its concerned organizations, we hope that the countries which have disputes will seek common ground while reserving differences and in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation resolve their divergences through peaceful negotiations.

In a word, the main direction for adhering to the foreign policy of maintaining independence and keeping initiative in our own hands it is to unite all the countries and people that are willing to work for peace, particularly to unite the countries and people of the Third World in opposing hegemonism and safeguarding world peace. The implementation of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is the guiding principle that we must follow in advancing along this direction. Now, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have already been recorded in the new constitution adopted by the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC, and have thus the highest legal effect. We can assure the whole world that China will definitely be true to its word and resolute in its deeds, and according to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, energetically develop diplomatic relations and economic and cultural exchanges with all countries.

CSO: 4005/827



## PARTY AND STATE

### NEED TO REFORM PARTY, GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS EMPHASIZED

Hohhot SHIJIAN [PRACTICE] in Chinese No 3, 5 Feb 83 p 2-3

[Article by Yu Zhi [1946 4249]: "Enhance Ideological Awareness and Excel in Organizational Reform"]

[Text] Reforming our party and government organizations is an important aspect of our institutional reform as a whole, and a revolution. At present, this reform at prefectural and municipal levels is well underway throughout this autonomous region. When it is being carried out as one of two major tasks we face this year, we must fully understand its profound significance and conscientiously bring it to a successful conclusion.

The organs of state usually take shape immediately after the birth of a nation, which will subject their nature and organizational form to constant changes in conjunction with the transformation of its intrinsic essence and the development of its economy and culture. Under the socialist condition, the organs of state also need to be constantly reformed until they become perfect. Since the founding of our republic, there has existed a basically harmonious relationship between the superstructure comprising party and government organizations and the economic base, despite the existence of some aspects of disharmony between them. Today, as our country is ushering in a new historical period of the development of socialist modernization, and as remarkable changes are taking place in economic, cultural, and other fields, the original aspect of our party and government organizations' unresponsiveness to the economic base has become more obvious and striking than ever. For example, they have become more cumbersome and unwieldy, and their leading bodies are getting older than ever; the low scientific and cultural levels of their rank-and-file cadres, and the overstaffing of their organizations have been combined to make their operations ineffectual, thus developing their bureaucratization to a serious degree of public concern, the fundamental objective of our current organizational reform is to overcome shortcomings of this kind. Through this structural reform, those unwieldy and cumbersome organizations can be streamlined, a large number of outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres can be selected and promoted to leading posts at all levels, a vast number of ordinary cadres can be trained on a rotational basis, bureaucratization can be further brought under control, and efficiency in work is expected to be improved, thus providing an important guarantee for upholding the socialist road, for strengthening stability and unity, and for opening new frontiers in the development of socialist modernization. This is something of vital and far-reaching significance.

The current organizational reform differs from the past structural streamlining in that its content will be broader and richer, requirements will be stricter and more specific, methods and steps will be more perfect and reassuring than ever. Although this reform can be expected to produce greater results than ever, so do the difficulties it will have to face. This challenge must be met by a thorough revolutionary spirit rather than by merely a routine resolution. Of the better troops and simpler administration during the war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "This campaign for better troops and simpler administration must be strictly, thoroughly, and universally carried out, and should not be perfunctorily treated as a matter of formality or a task of local nature." Even today, this statement still can serve as a guide of practical significance to us.

Since history is a mirror, historical lessons should not be forgotten. In the past, our organizations have been streamlined several times without any remarkable success. In many cases, shrinkage was soon followed by renewed expansion, a process which we have seen repeat itself again and again in the past. Apart from the "leftist" ideology that stood in the way of reform, and our failure to truly shift the emphasis of our work to such reform, other important factors that have caused this debacle stem from our inability to break with the old ideas and concepts, to view the situation as a whole, to back up the structural streamlining with corresponding reforms in the cadre system, and the system and method of work. During the current organizational reform, we must come to grips with this problem, and make conscientious efforts to solve it.

First, we must break not only with the old conventions that an increase in workload must be followed by hiring an additional number of workers and by opening many more new offices, but also with the old concept that "it is better to have more offices, more pompous framework, and more personnel than what is deemed necessary." Essentially, these old conventions and concepts have nothing in common with the proletarian ideology associated with the modern mode of mass production. They are associated with the ancient mode of production cherished by small producers. At present, ideas of this kind have transformed themselves into an abudate force of habit posing a serious threat to the promotion of our organizational reform. It must be understood that the party and government organizations and the personnel they employ are unlikely to grow in proportion to the development of the revolutionary and constructive undertakings, and their relationship is a dialectical rather than mechanical one; the growth of an enterprise does not necessarily have to be followed by opening more new offices and by hiring an additional number of personnel. From the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, the faster a socialist enterprise develops, the stricter the requirements will be for the organs of state to streamline themselves and to improve efficiency in work. In other words, the current situation characterized by the overswelling, overlapping and overstaffing of our party and government organizations are unlikely to have any connection with the development of socialist enterprises. In the same vein, whether a party or government agency has strengthened its role or not cannot be arithematically determined by whether it has increased or reduced its staff or the number of offices. Suppose the same condition is provided for the development of socialist enterprises, any efforts to improve the

quality of their personnel, and deployment of their agencies would result in strengthening their functions despite the fact that they are small in number. If the quality of their personnel is poor, and their agencies are overlapping and interfering with one another, it will certainly end up weakening their strength despite their large staff and cumbersome organizations. In this connection, the proverb that "disorder would result in assigning 9 herdsmen to tend 10 sheep," and "simpler administration is better than over-staffing" remains a meaningful reminder to us. Commenting on the nationwide structural reform, Lenin once said: "I prefer simpler administration staffed by well-trained personnel." This is another teaching worthy of our observation.

Second, we must look afar, consider the situation as a whole, discard parochialism, and make public "every secret formula for success." As we proceed to reform our leading bodies, streamline administrative structure, and revamp the system of work, or whatever else we do, we must consider whether it will result in enhancing the development of the national economy and in strengthening the development of our socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. No single department or unit is allowed to take into account only the interests of its own small world. In the past, as our organizations were being streamlined, we often heard various units express their wholehearted support for the reform and call it something of far-reaching significance. But once the reform was progressing from the discussion stage to the stage of practical action, they all wanted to emphasize only the importance of their own domains, which, in their opinion, should be expanded rather than scaled down. During the current organizational reform, this tendency remains evident. If this state of mind is allowed to prevail, our reform is doomed to failure. Even if they appear to concur with the reform, it is certain that they would do everything possible to block and undermine it, thus posing a latent threat to the promotion of similar work in the future. In the past, it was this narrow-minded idea that has played a big role in making various units hesitate to streamline their administrative structure and in leading them to vie with one another for expansion. To make the current reform a success calls for elimination of this idea.

Third, bold steps must be taken to reform the cadre system, and resolute and tradition-breaking measures must be adopted to select and appoint those revolutionary, young, well-educated, and professionally competent cadres or robust cadres of moral integrity and professional competence who are capable of blazing a new trail to the future to join the leading bodies. To appoint the robust middle-aged and younger cadres means to appoint intellectuals including highly experienced and relatively well-educated cadres of worker-peasant origin. The term "tradition-breaking" means breaking the tradition in this direction. Of course, it also means breaking the tradition in terms of seniority. At present, we must spare no effort to display determination to remove the strong force of resistance to the promotion of middle-aged and younger cadres. We must break with the idea emphasizing seniority, correct the erroneous tendency to hold intellectuals with disdain, and dispel the distrustful misgivings about the middle-aged and younger cadres. The socialist four modernizations are an enterprise which thrives only on the application of science and technology and which cannot be successful without the support of thousands upon thousands of well-educated young successors. We would commit another historical mistake, if we fail to do everything possible to solve this problem during our current organizational reform.

Fourth, we must daringly devote attention to the implementation of key projects, and deal with each case on its own merits. Our current structural reform will begin with party and government organizations with emphasis given to the administrative and economic management departments. For a long time, these organizations have placed under their control things they could not control in the first place, things they have had no way of knowing how to control, and things beyond their control. The result has been the overproliferation of their offices and overconcentration of power, thus hampering the objective development of the economy. On the other hand, those joint coordinating, statistical, and supervisory departments and law-making and law-enforcement bodies which are considered indispensable as a guide and guarantee for the development of the economy have proved themselves unable to meet the needs for the development of the economy, because of their failure to make sufficient efforts to strengthen their functions, and equip them with enough personnel. These two categories of organizations should be treated differently. Our policy toward the former should be one of streamlining and retrenchment while our policy toward the latter is a continued endeavor to improve and strengthen their functions. Without categorizing organizations in this way, no policy can take shape. Nor can a policy designed to categorize them in this manner be put into effect without a demonstration of determination to enforce it. During their reform, a reasonable division of responsibility and a clear definition of duties are deemed necessary so that efforts can be made to improve the system of work and methods of work until they become perfect, the bureaucratic style of work can be eliminated, and success can be achieved in reform that lives up to our expectations. Our current organizational reform is being carried out at a time when the fundamental reform of our economic management system remains to be initiated, thus ruling out the possibility that an overall reform can be thoroughly carried out at this time. Therefore, our current reform must proceed in a way that takes into account requirements for carrying out an overall institutional reform in the future, and with the aim of creating the conditions for this purpose and thwarting any attempt to cripple it. But by saying that an overall reform cannot be thoroughly carried out at this time, I do not mean that thorough reform should not be conducted in localities where conditions are ripe for this reform. Nor should the statement that our current reform must proceed in a way that takes into account its future needs be construed as an attempt to impose restrictions on our current reform. A correct approach is to coordinate the organizational reform with the institutional reform, "and to reform our organizations in a way that emphasizes the need to combine the revolutionary spirit with the scientific attitude, "to couple the careful planning with bold steps, and flexibility with mobility" which can insure success in advancing the work along a sound line.

9574

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## PARTY AND STATE

### GINGHAI GOVERNOR ADDRESSES FORUM ON GOVERNMENT WORK

HK060638 Xining Ginghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 5 May 83

[Text] According to QINGHAI RIBAO, the provincial people's government invited the responsible comrades of all autonomous prefectures, Xining City, the Haidong commissioner's office, all counties and various departments of the provincial government to participate in a forum on improving government work and strengthening economic construction from 28 April to 2 May.

Before the closing of the forum, Governor Huang Jingbo gave a concluding speech, elaborating on five aspects. He said: At present, there are two different views on the economic development of Ginghai Province: The first view represents a correct attitude toward the status quo and the future. Being optimistic and having full confidence in the province's prospect, those who take this view vigorously mobilize and organize the people of all nationalities to participate in the building of the province. The other view emphasizes difficulties, disregarding the province's favorable conditions. Those who hold this view have a fear of difficulties and a sense of inferiority, lack confidence in the future of Ginghai and determination in developing the province. Without a correct understanding, we can hardly lead the people to make progress. We must apply a dialectical view to the situation of the province and look at its prospects with an eye to the course of its development. We must not only be aware of the short-term, partial, and difficult situation, but must also keep in mind the long-term, overall, and favorable conditions. We must not only remember the state of poverty in the province at the present stage, but must also look forward to its prosperous future. With an area of 720,000 square km and rich resources, our province has great latent power and a bright prospect in developing industry, mining, planting, and breeding. We should not look down on ourselves and underestimate our own capabilities. We must get rid of the sense of inferiority and strengthen our confidence and determination. We must bring our capabilities into full play and work hard to change the state of poverty and backwardness in the province.

In talking about the second problem, Comrade Huang Jingbo urged our cadres to learn how to work out a plan in balancing profit and outlay. He said: Accounting is an indispensable skill for economic work. Without working out accounts, one will have no idea of the true state of affairs and will not know how to set about a job. As a result, the province will never be able to get rich. How much resources does an autonomous prefecture, a county, or a department have? Are all these resources wasted? How much of them are wasted and how

much of them are utilized? Have we brought these resources into full play? All our heads of autonomous prefectures, county magistrates, department heads, and bureau chiefs must have all figures at their fingertips. They must familiarize themselves with the situation in their own units, find the problems, sort them out according to priority, use their brains to find solutions, clearly define the responsibilities of grassroots units, county governments, autonomous governments, and the provincial government, and see that plans are worked out and results are scored by each unit.

For the third problem, we must study hard, emancipate our minds and get rid of the sense of inferiority and fear of difficulties. The level of the machine building industry in our province is not low and the price of local products is really high. We must be aware of our strong points and favorable conditions, and should not be blinded by the aspect of backwardness and poverty. We must learn new knowledge and absorb foreign advanced knowledge, technologies and management experiences.

The fourth problem concerns the further readjustment and implementation of the policies. Comrade Huang Jingbo said: With such rich resources, great latent power, and ample manpower, why did we fail to make progress in our work? The main reasons were that some issues concerning policy had not been solved, our work was not well coordinated, and we were entangled in disputes over trivial problems. We must conscientiously examine our work, removing obstacles to the implementation of the policies toward intellectuals and development of science and technology. We must draw up policies toward cadres and staff and on economic development so as to pacify our existing personnel and attract in a planned way scientific and technical personnel from other provinces to participate in the building of our province.

The fifth problem mentioned by Comrade Huang Jingbo is the strengthening of government work and the improvement of efficiency. He said: In order to improve the work of governments at all levels, we must redress our understanding of the relationship between the servant and the master, in other words, the relationship between the administrative personnel and the masses. From now on, we must get rid of the practice of red tape: If a problem can be handled by talking with the persons concerned face to face, we should save the writing of reports; if a matter can be handled by telephone, we should save the issuance of a circular; and if a problem can be handled at lower levels, there is no need to transfer it to higher levels. This is a real step to improve efficiency. We must strengthen and safeguard unity--strengthening the unity between all nationalities and among our comrades. This is the fundamental guarantee for the improvement of our work.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### PARTY LEADERS' ROLE IN RECTIFYING UNHEALTHY TENDENCIES DEFINED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Apr 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Those Who Head Party Committees Must Take Personal Part in Rectifying the Party's Work Style"]

[Text] The provincial discipline inspection work conference and the work conference on the consolidation of the party at selected points, held by the provincial party committee, have come to an end. Their main theme was a call for further strengthening the building of the party, for bringing about a fundamental improvement in the party's work style as quickly as possible, and for roundly opening new frontiers in the development of socialist modernization. We believe that as a result of the thorough implementation of their guidelines, the work of rectifying the party's work style, and building up its strength is expected to take a giant step forward, and a new spirit will prevail over the province. At present, the provincial, prefectural, municipal, and county level party committees have completed the reshuffle of their leading bodies, which can be expected to live up to the fervent hopes of the broad masses in this province. What major problems should they address following their assumption of new offices? They must come to grips with the key link in the rectification of the party's work style and in the building of the party. The 12th Party Congress has charted a course for our country to build socialism in a way that is unique to China, and has set an objective of struggle that must be fulfilled before the end of this century. This objective can be called our party's political program during this new period. The fundamental objective in realizing this program is to strengthen and improve the leadership of the party, to rectify the party's work style, and to build up its strength. This is why our party must closely follow its political line in building up its strength, and do everything possible to serve its political line.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party's work style has appeared to take a turn for the better, thanks to enormous and unremitting efforts made by party organizations at all levels throughout the province. We are particularly elated by the fact that some experimental units selected earlier than others have produced remarkable results in the consolidation of the party and in the rectification of its work style. But a province-wide survey still shows no fundamental improvements in the party's work style, indicating that the task ahead remains very difficult, and it may deteriorate

again, if no firm efforts are made to bring it under control. This is why party organizations at all levels are required to display determination, a solid style of work, and perseverance in this direction.

The key to success in bringing about fundamental improvements in the party's work style lies in party committees, particularly those heading these committees, who must take personal part in the rectification of the party's work style, and must consider doing so a rewarding experience. Practice proves that the party's work style would take a quick turn for the better in those localities and units where principal leading comrades on party committees have made this work a matter of their personal concern. A major factor that has prevented the party's work style from taking a quick turn for the better in certain localities stems from the failure of their leading comrades to achieve unity in providing strong leadership over this work, and from their inadequate understanding of extreme importance they must attach to the rectification of the party's work style.

How to change this situation remains a problem that needs to be successfully solved during the current rectification of the party's work style. Those who head party committees are squad leaders capable of exercising control over the situation as a whole. In that position, they will have a pivotal role to play in the rectification of the party's work style. Whether they can achieve a clear understanding of and take a clear-cut attitude toward this matter, and whether they can play an exemplary role in this field will have a direct impact on their leading bodies, and will determine whether the rectification of the party's work style is successful or not. For this reason, those heading party committees must give full play to their leading role and their persuasive and appealing power. Only in this way can they bring about a situation in which those at higher levels can oversee and guide those at lower levels, thus getting the entire party involved in this work.

To those who head party committees, rectifying the party's work style is not just a routine matter of general concern. First, they must take successful efforts to build up the strength of their leading bodies, ideologically and organizationally. At present, how to make successful efforts to persuade others to observe the party's political discipline should become a matter of particular concern to them. Whatever they do, they must consciously and unequivocally maintain a political unity with the Party Central Committee, and must handle well the relationship between national and local interests in the implementation of the Central Committee's principles and policies. They must make efforts to improve democratic centralism, strengthen collective leadership, bring into full play the party's democracy, and refrain from acting arbitrarily on any matter. They must uphold the party's political line on cadres, appoint people on their merits, and recommend the competent for government positions. They must uphold the party's mass line, pay attention to the well-being of the masses, and improve relations between the party and the masses. They must constantly launch criticism and self-criticism, and make justice prevail over evils. Only by doing so can the new leading bodies win wholehearted support from party members and the masses, and effectively lead those at lower levels in rectifying the party's work style. Rectifying the



party's work style effectively also calls for promoting the responsibility system, without which no work can produce good results. We must persist in commending those for excellent performances and punishing others for poor performances. Whether the party's work style can be successfully rectified or not should be regarded as an important aspect of evaluating cadres. Those who merit commendation should be awarded while others should be severely criticized for poor performances. There must be a sense of time in rectifying the party's work style as well as a timetable for solving problems. The old manner of doing business as usual cannot be tolerated in this connection. Criticism should be launched against those who have proved ineffective in rectifying the party's work style during the first year; considerations as to whether they should be allowed to continue at their present posts should be given after they are found derelict in their duty to produce any results in this field during the second and third year. It is necessary to investigate those leaders, no matter how high is their position, who have held up and interfered with the process of investigation of certain cases, who have covered up and shielded the accused, and who have taken every opportunity to attack and frame false charges against the accusers. These are cases which should be dealt with seriously. By defining the responsibility in this way, by properly commending and penalizing people, by solving problems one by one, and by turning small changes into big ones, we can certainly bring about further improvements in the party's work style in this province.

Meanwhile, party committees must devote full attention to bringing into play the role of various departments, especially the commissions for inspection of discipline, in this work. They must strengthen their leadership over the discipline inspection work, vigorously support discipline inspectors in their correct exercise of power, and help them build up their strength ideologically and organizationally. At present, party committees and commissions for inspection of discipline at all levels must play an active role in bringing the following three tasks to a successful conclusion: First, they must give first place to the inspection of political discipline in order to insure success in the four modernizations and reform. Second, they must persist in dealing blows to the serious economic crime, and must concentrate forces on investigating major cases, in order to raise the rate of their settlement. Under no circumstances can they relax their will to fight. Third, a sweeping campaign must be mounted by them to prevent leading cadres from building private homes and distributing them without authorization, "converting agricultural residents into non-agricultural residents" and placing their children and relatives in jobs without going through proper procedures. These are unhealthy tendencies which should be eliminated as quickly as possible as a matter of major concern. They must make further efforts to correct unhealthy tendencies in all forms by means of thorough education, strict inspection, and other measures.

This year will mark the first year in our efforts to bring about fundamental improvements in the party's work style. We should get this work off to a good start. As far as the constitution and regulations of the party are concerned, they are clear to all. Those who head party committees must take personal part in the rectification of the party's work style. In addition to urging

party organizations at all levels to make conscientious efforts in this direction, they must rely on discipline inspection commissions to carry out investigations of major cases, while mobilizing party members to struggle against unhealthy tendencies. As long as they can do so, they will be able to achieve quicker results in improving the party's work style in this province in the fundamental way.

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CSO: 4005/782

## PARTY AND STATE

### NEED FOR PARTY MEMBERS TO ACT AS MODELS IN REFORM EMPHASIZED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 8 Apr 83 p 3

[Commentary: "Communist Party Members Must Act As Models in Reform"]

[Text] At present, the most important exemplary vanguard role that must be emphasized and played by Communist Party members under the new historical conditions should be the one devoted to reform. If they still want to think everything over in the old ways, and are not determined to devote themselves to innovation, they would find themselves unable to act as vanguards and models. For this reason, every Communist Party member must not hesitate to sweep away all old conventions, and other overcautious ways of thinking and doing things which have stood in the way of reform while taking the lead in reform and making himself a promoter in this field.

If Communist Party Members want to act as models in reform, they must carry forward our party's old tradition of hard struggle. But if they only consider bearing the brunt of hardships and tribulations as a manifestation of hard struggle, but fail to recognize the painstaking study of the Marxist-Leninist theory, in-depth research on policies, and the endeavor to acquire scientific and cultural knowledge as part of it, they would end up slackening their efforts in this direction, and would find it very difficult to bring their exemplary vanguard role into play. This is because Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, policies, and scientific and cultural knowledge are essential to reform.

At present, as a result of the economic reform, and especially as a result of the implementation of various contractual responsibility systems, some party members have become rich ahead of others, and households worth 10,000 yuan each have continued to emerge one after another along with some other similar individual households. But some comrades have called this something inconsistent with the belief that party members must be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts. As we can see, this is not true. It can be said that it is the implementation of the party's present policies in which they have played a leading role, their demonstration of a daring spirit to carry out and adapt themselves to reform, and their willingness to take the lead in performing manual labor and to pay a price for it that have led them to become rich, and their contract land or specific projects to produce more and make greater profits than others. Only by taking the lead in implementing the party's

current policies can party members place themselves in a better position to bring their exemplary role into play, and appeal for popular support. If the households of party members become poor because of their inept performances in work or in management, they would end up losing their status and influence on the implementation of the party's current policies, and would make their desirable role in the economic reform ineffectual. But in addition to demanding that party members try their best to become rich ahead of others through excellent performances in work and management, what the party considers more important is the requirement that they become more ideologically and politically advanced than the broad masses, with their ideological awareness advancing at a level surpassing that of the party's current policies and of the masses. They must remind themselves of the need to bear in mind the lofty communist goals and to preserve the purity of communist character while disseminating communism among the masses. As Communist Party members, they must uphold the communist labor attitude, and try their best to serve the modernized undertakings in every possible way. They must promote the communist way of doing manual labor without compensation, and refrain from "viewing everything in terms of money." As soon as they become rich, they must demonstrate their warm love for their country, and show concern for their collectives as well as the masses around them. They must do everything in their power to help poor households and households enjoying five guarantees gradually become rich. These are two aspects of life during the current economic reform in which every Communist Party member must play an exemplary vanguard role. By neglecting either aspect of this life, they will find themselves unable to act as promoters or models in this economic reform.

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CSO: 4005/782

## PARTY AND STATE

### HARBIN LAUNCHES COURTESY MONTH ACTIVITIES

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Mar 83 p 1

[Editorial: "This Year Will Be Even Better Than Last"]

[Text] The spring wind is bringing warmth, and the ice and snow are melting. And this year's "People's Civilization and Courtesy Month" has also begun. The Central Committee, provincial party committee, and municipal party committee have already made arrangements for this year's "five stresses, four points of beauties, and three ardent loves" activities, and are asking that they be carried out on a broader scale, in a more deepgoing and down-to-earth way, and more successfully than last year.

How will we be able to make this year's civilization and courtesy month activities better than last year's? First of all, we must heighten our understanding. The fundamental meaning of launching this activity is to heighten people's communist awareness, instill in them communist moral practices and attitudes towards labor and, hence, create a wholesome social and natural environment. This activity has a direct bearing on the great matter of building the four modernizations, and we absolutely cannot regard it as something unimportant. The way of thinking that considers that time cannot be devoted to this type of activity due to the large amount of reform tasks and a heavy work load is incorrect. There is no contradiction between this activity on the one hand and reform and other work on the other. This activity itself amounts to a kind of reform and, moreover, it is connected with reform. Linked up together well, they can serve to promote one another. The adage that "we work at something for a while, and then afterwards have to go and tear it all down again" is incorrect. The "five stresses, four points of beauties, and three ardent loves" are a kind of communist education activity, and activity of this nature cannot possibly be engaged in just for a spell. We must progress with this activity year after year, the content of each year's activity must be more substantial than the last, and each year's requirements will be greater than the last. Second, leaders must get personally involved in the work, produce realistic arrangements in accordance with the actual circumstances of their units, get a secure hold on the central link of ideological-political work, get the masses fully motivated, adopt the methods of combining sudden, concentrated assaults on problems with ordinary, regular

work and combining temporary solutions with permanent cures, and solve one or two, or even several, of the important problems whose solution would be beneficial to the lives of the masses and beneficial for production and construction. Third, we must do a good job of organizing all forms of competition. This is a good method for engaging in people's activities. The substance of the competition should be clear, and the targets concrete. We must be good at organizing and leading the competitions, discovering advanced examples and immediately praising them and spreading word of their accomplishments, and making the competitions down-to-earth and full of sound and color. Fourth, we must move in the direction of making the activities more regularized and systematized. We carried out these activities last year, and thus have a definite basis to draw up all kinds of content and various regulations and pledges. This year we must further strengthen and perfect this activity, and make it truly become a yardstick of the self-conscious actions of the broad masses, in order to consolidate the activity's results. We must do a good job of managing these things in a comprehensive way. The content of this activity is very broad, a great deal of work is required, and the effects of it extend to all quarters. In the course of this activity, the various units must conscientiously coordinate with one another, support one another, develop work style, and keep the general situation in mind.

This year's civilization and courtesy month activity is starting from the basis of last year's work, and there are many advantageous conditions for its success. If only the party committees at various levels strengthen their leadership, and pool the wisdom and efforts of everyone, then we will definitely attain anticipated goals.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### 'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON 'THREE-WAY COMBINATION'

HK110329 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 30 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Shi Yan [4258 0917]: "Generate New Light in the Midst of 'Three-Way Combination'"]

[Text] The 12th CPC National Congress earnestly called for the whole party and country to attach great importance to science and intellectuals. This practice has evoked strong repercussions among the masses. Matters of right and wrong which were confused for years were eventually set to right. This is a very important thing not only for us in carrying out the construction of socialist modernization but also for the entire cause of communism.

The crux of the problem in correctly treating the intellectuals of the country is that of what position they should be placed in. Should they be placed outside the contingent of working class or inside it? If we fail to solve this problem, we will not be able to carry out the policy toward intellectuals on a sound ideological basis but will have to carry it out according to orders, or perfunctorily. Chinese intellectuals always have had a strong patriotic tradition. Many of them came from the lower strata of society and kept in contact with the working people through diverse means. These characteristics made them greet national liberation with pleasure. They diligently have served the people and socialism under the CPC. Many advanced elements among the intellectuals have gradually accepted the communist world outlook and are determined to fight all their lives for the cause of communism. A great change has taken place in the formation of the intellectual contingent with the participation of thousands of intellectuals who have been fostered by ourselves. An intellectual contingent, magnificent when compared with the past, has been set up. They are active on various fronts of socialist construction, making great contributions. Practice shows that our intellectuals have become a component part of the working class as a whole. It is absolutely wrong to harbor suspicions against them and even to regard them as alien. As long as we understand that intellectuals are members of the working class, we will completely correct our attitude toward the intellectuals. There is no doubt that this is a matter of decisive significance. However, there is another problem, that of how the working class should treat each other. If this problem is not properly handled, it is also impossible for us to arouse the socialist initiative of each person.

The establishment of the socialist system enables our people to enjoy equal rights. Within the working class, the relationship between the people is that of comrades and brothers regardless of their social positions and the nature of their work. Although the division of labor in society is needed, within the working class, some people have become cadres, some are workers engaging in labor production and others are technical personnel, experts, teachers, professors and academic workers. All of them form a harmonious whole. They neither govern nor are they governed by others. Long-standing discrimination against, and scorn at, intellectuals in the past has caused great losses to the cause of socialism. However, many people still cannot understand this. It is absolutely necessary for us to stress the importance of science and the important role the intellectuals are playing. This practice is to be carried on in light of the actual situation. Of course, when we stress the importance of intellectuals, it does not mean that other component parts of the working class are not important, nor does it mean that intellectuals should climb over the heads of the workers. It is obviously incorrect to think so.

Marxism always holds that the masses are the makers of history. Regardless of the political struggle or labor production and scientific research in which the intellectuals engage, if they wish to complete some important things, they must not be divorced from workers and peasants in their practice, and they must integrate with them in diverse ways. We can do nothing if we fail to understand social needs or fail to derive nourishment from the masses or to depend on the achievements made by our predecessors and others. Today the meticulous division of labor in science and technology requires wide cooperation. Only with the cooperation of the masses, can a person score marked achievements in his labor and painstaking research. Jiang Zhuying began to show his ability in 1965. He, and a scientific research team which he heads, have made the first optical transfer function equipment in the country. There is no doubt that he has scored a great success. However, it was impossible for him to do so without the advice of his teacher, Wang Daheng, and the 700 working days and nights put in by all the members of the team. In addition, Jiang Zhuying visited some 10 optical product factories in the country. During his visit to these factories, he exchanged experiences with workers and technical personnel, and with their cooperation handled difficult problems arising in production and finally mastered scientific skills in practice. [HK110331] Zhou Lirong did not hesitate leaving Shanghai where living conditions are quite good and strike root in the countryside of Henan Province where he wholeheartedly cured the sickness of the peasants. Deriving spiritual strength and finding research subjects from among the patients, he succeeded in pioneering microsurgery with simple and crude equipment, which produced wide repercussions among medical circles. These are eloquent proofs that only by integrating with the masses and by practice, can intellectuals develop their abilities to the fullest.

Today, China has fundamentally eliminated the injustices left over by history. Intellectuals have duly acquired their social positions. They should conscientiously unite with the broad masses of cadres, workers and peasants and fight shoulder to shoulder for promoting the socialist cause of spiritual and material civilization.

In the integration of intellectuals with the masses and with practice, there are different forms and methods among different personnel and types of work.



It is impossible for the pattern to be the same, nor should it be. China adopted the slogan of "three-way combination of leading cadres, workers and technical personnel" in scientific and technical work and production enterprises in the 1950's. This slogan played a positive role. This was required for production development; it was also necessary for the technical transformation and revolution. Practice has put new questions before us and, at the same time, helps us to adopt suitable measures to resolve them. Being in leading positions, leading cadres understand the overall situation and are responsible for organization and leadership. Being in the forefront of material production, workers accurately and directly keep informed on how the work is progressing, and how to master techniques of production. Thus they become an important force in tackling key problems. Having acquired professional knowledge and technical capacity, and with the support of leading cadres and the creative labor of workers, the technical personnel can resolve technical problems and are able to create a new situation in the production of an enterprise in a short period of time. This slogan was distorted during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Lin Biao and the "gang of four" abused intellectuals as the "stinking ninth category," reducing them to an abnormal position. So-called "integration" was no more than the unilateral remolding of the ideology of intellectuals and they were so controlled that they could not bring their initiatives into full play. Now, intellectuals, like cadres and workers, are a component part of the working class. They closely unite on an equal basis. They make different contributions and they learn from others' strong points to offset their weakness. This united strength will certainly remove all barriers that block the way of the socialist modernization drive and achieve the great goal by the end of the century. As everyone knows, the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company has created a new situation over the past few years. One of the important factors is that technical personnel shoulder loads and play an important role in production. This results from the fact that, as part of the working class, the intellectuals closely cooperate with cadres and workers and other component parts of the working class; they support each other and advance shoulder to shoulder. Provided the three forces merge into one, no difficulty can overpower them. In the new historical period, the slogan of "three-way combination of leading cadres, workers and intellectuals" must have new meaning added, be stressed anew, and popularized in practical work. This will enable the broad sector of intellectuals to give scope to their vitality which has been, and is being, liberated in the course of the "three-way combination," and to play their tremendous role with more assurance and make irreplaceable contributions in building our infinitely lovely socialist motherland.

CS0: 4005/832

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'YUNNAN RIBAO' HAILS PROVINCIAL CONGRESS CLOSING

HK140817 Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Apr 83 pp 1, 3

[Editorial: "Neglect Neither Production Nor Reform and Earnestly Grasp Economic Work--Congratulating the Conclusion of the First Session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress and the First Session of the Fifth Provincial CPPCC Committee"]

[Text] The first session of the sixth provincial people's congress has come to a successful close. The first session of the fifth provincial CPPCC committee will conclude today. We warmly congratulate the success of the two meetings.

The convening of the two meetings is an important event for the people of our province. With an attitude of being the masters of their own affairs and because of their sense of responsibility, deputies to the first session of the sixth provincial people's congress justified the great trust placed on them by the province's people and discussed and approved the "Report on the Sixth 5-Year Plan of Yunnan Province" by acting Governor Pu Zhaozhu, as well as the "Sixth 5-Year Plan for Yunnan Province's economic and social development." Members of the fifth provincial CPPCC committee who attended its first session also participated in the first session of the sixth provincial people's congress as nonvoting delegates. Then warmly discussed the report and the Sixth 5-Year Plan and put forth sensible suggestions. The province's Sixth 5-Year Plan was drawn up after summing up experience in our province's socialist construction and making an analysis of the present state of economic and social development, and was based on the strategic plan advanced by the CPC Central Committee for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, the major quotas assigned by the state to our province and the spirit of the fifth session of the third provincial CPC committee. The plan has prescribed the major tasks to be fulfilled by the province during 1981-85. The report made by acting Governor Pu Zhaozhu has specified various measures to be taken for the fulfillment of the province's Sixth 5-Year Plan. Deputies to the first session of the sixth provincial people's congress and members of the fifth provincial CPPCC committee pointed out: The Sixth 5-Year Plan accords with the realities in our province with the major points emphasized. All quotas are inspiring and aggressive but sensible and practical, which fully reflect the aspirations and demands of the people of all our nationalities. The fulfillment of the plan will lay a solid foundation for the next

5-year plan and encourage the people of our province to advance toward the grand objective of quadrupling the gross output value of industry and agriculture by the end of this century.

More than 2 years have passed since the endorsement of the Sixth 5-Year Plan. During that time, the plan was soundly implemented. We hope there will be new development in economic construction during the last 3 years of the plan. This year is the first year for us to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. Making a success in all fields of this year's work is vital to the fulfillment of the Sixth 5-Year Plan. There is still much work to do in the rest of this year. Most important is to do work well in two aspects. First, earnestly push forward reforms. Experiences of the past few years in our province tell us that for the sake of the four modernizations, we must initiate a series of reforms either in administrative organs or in the economic system. We must further free our thinking to realize the significance and urgency of reform, stand in the forefront of reform and strive to be pacesetters in reform. Reforms should, of course, be carried out in accordance with the plan of the central authorities. All local authorities should properly handle the relationship between reform and production, carry on both reform and production without neglecting either and stimulate the development of all economic work through reform. Second, earnestly grasp economic work. We should always bear in mind that economic work is of great importance to us. We must strive to work for a higher target in this year's overall economic development over last year. This is a toilsome and urgent task awaiting the nationalities in our province. We must pay adequate attention to any new situation and new problems which might emerge in the present economic work. CPC committees and people's governments at all levels must lead the masses to reap bumper harvests in this year's agricultural production in every possible way. [HK140818] Thanks to the implementation of a series of correct policies and the constitution of the responsibility system in the countryside, rich harvests have been gathered in the past 2 years and a prosperous scene has appeared in the rural areas. However, the weather is unusual this year. This has already delayed the time of harvesting last autumn's crops and will certainly affect the transplanting of this year's spring crops. If there are low temperatures in August, it will certainly do great harm to agricultural production in our province. So we should by no means take a happy-go-lucky attitude. We must conduct study and investigation, seriously sum up the experiences of the masses, give full play to the role of agrotechnicians and take all effective measures in line with local conditions so as to finish the work of spring farming in good time. In industrial production, we must make efforts to yield better economic results. In 1981 and 1982, the average gross output value of the province's industrial production increased by 9.8 percent with better economic results. However, economic results in a number of enterprises in the first quarter of this year were greatly minimized when compared with the same period last year. Such a situation merits our close attention. We must concentrate our efforts on improving economic results, and speed must keep in step with results. In capital construction, we must tighten control over nonstate-planned projects and investment in nonproductive projects, particularly the building of meeting halls or pavilions. In turn, we must use financial and material resources in major projects of energy, communications, technical transformation and intelligence

investment. We must make further efforts to improve commercial work by simultaneously pushing ahead production and interflow of commodities. Commercial, supply and marketing units must take effective measures to strengthen the work of purchasing farm and sideline products, to deliver more industrial goods to the countryside, to help peasants overcome difficulties in selling and buying and to boost markets in cities and towns. People's governments and economic departments at all levels must give more leadership to economic work and exert every effort to make a success of the work to achieve better economic results.

Another item on the agenda of the first session of the sixth provincial people's congress called for holding elections. For the elections, the Yunnan Provincial CPC Committee held special meetings with responsible persons of democratic parties, nonparty democratic personages and responsible persons of mass organizations to solicit their opinions. At the meetings, people from all walks of life held brisk discussions and freely spoke their minds on choosing candidates. In accordance with the state constitution and the election and organizational laws governing the local people's congresses and the local people's governments, the first session of the sixth provincial people's congress has elected the province's deputies to the Sixth NPC, the chairman, vice chairmen members of the sixth provincial people's congress standing committee, the governor and vice governors of Yunnan Province, presidents of the province's higher and intermediate people's courts and the chief procurators of the provincial people's procuratorate and those at various levels. The elections fully reflect the spirit of letting the people be masters of their own affairs and run the country. The formation of the new leadership groups in the provincial government and other organs will play a positive role in fulfilling the Sixth 5-Year Plan. Meanwhile, in accordance with the regulations and rules of the CPPCC, the first session of the fifth provincial CPPCC committee also elected its new chairman, vice chairmen, secretary general and permanent members.

The province's Sixth 5-Year Plan, which was finally approved by the first session of the sixth provincial people's congress, has become a more attainable goal for the people of all nationalities in the province. Though the task is arduous and glorious, so long as we, in light of the spirit of the party's 12th congress, further cement the unity among the workers, peasants, intellectuals and patriots of all circles, the unity between the army and the government and between the army and the people and the unity of the people of all nationalities in the province, we will surely be able to bring every positive factor into play and fulfill or overfulfill the Sixth 5-Year Plan so as to make new contributions to the socialist modernization of our motherland.

CSO: 4005/832

## PARTY AND STATE

### IMPORTANCE OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN REFORM PROCESS EXPOUNDED

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Feb 83 p 1

[Article: "Be a Pathbreaker in the Modernization Drive, Be the Vanguard in Reform"]

[Text] The 3-day long 14th municipal congress of the Communist Youth League has successfully completed various assigned tasks. Since this congress was deeply immersed in carrying out the spirit of the Youth League's 11th congress, it was also a rally intended to mobilize the Youth League members and young people of the entire municipality to form the determination to engage in reform and make their contribution to the four modernizations. We warmly congratulate this congress on its resounding success!

During the 4 years from the Youth League's 13th municipal congress till now, our municipality's Youth League members and young people, in the midst of great historical transformations, have actively participated in various work of bringing order out of chaos, carrying forward the revolutionary cause, and forging ahead into the future; the aspect of their morale has undergone a deepgoing change; and in the course of building the two civilizations a great number of new people and new affairs have arisen that are resplendant with the brilliance of communist ideology. The broad masses of our municipality's young people have demonstrated clearly by their actions that they have determination, ideals, wisdom, and drive, and are not ashamed to be the most active and most dynamic vital new force and shock brigade for the four modernizations drive.

At present, our country is in the process of passing through a reform of smashing the old and establishing the new, and both the nation's flourishing and advancement and the people's prosperity and happiness relate closely to this reform. Young people, who have the least amount of conservative thinking and are rich in creative spirit, must actively participate in reform, support reform, and be the vanguard of reform.

Construction requires ability, and reform also requires ability. To be bold in reform, one must also be good at reform. This, then, requires that the broad masses of Youth League members and young people study scientific and cultural knowledge, and accumulate rich practical experience. Young people should engage in competition in their advance on science and culture to see who studies more, or studies better. In order to be pathbreakers, in order



to be the vanguard, one must labor bravely, have accomplishments, and make contributions. All labor that is required by society is glorious, and the people laboring in different jobs and posts in society all have an equal position. As long as we engage in earnest, creative labor, then no matter what we do we can have accomplishments and contributions that transcend the field of vision of mediocre people. The determination of good young people extends to all quarters; the place where the motherland needs us, that is where we will dedicate ourselves and do pioneering work. We must, in each of our respective work posts, use a high degree of political enthusiasm and a spirit of being the masters of our own destinies in making a great effort to create a first-class work accomplishment for the people. In order to be pathbreakers, in order to be the vanguard, we must smash old customs and establish new practices. We must actively participate in the activity of building socialist spiritual civilization and, beginning with our own line of work, our own unit, and our own post, conscientiously spread communist ideology and morality, allowing the spring wind of the "five stresses and the four points of beauties" to blow everywhere throughout the municipality.

In order to cause the broad masses of young people to devote themselves to the cause of reform and become the shock brigade of the four modernizations drive; it is necessary, in a down-to-earth way, to step up the construction of the Youth League itself, and build the Communist Youth League into a unified core for the education of youth. The organization of the Youth League must take as its point of departure the particular characteristics of young people in the new period; adopt vivid, active methods; give young people ideological guidance and assistance in their work; be good at incorporating ideological education within rich, variegated activities; and enable the Youth League organizations to truly become "homes for youth," and Youth League cadres to be "friends of youth."

Youth League members, young people, the people are counting on us, and the eyes of history are focused on us. The young people of our municipality, who possess a glorious revolutionary tradition, must definitely labor bravely, study diligently, develop new practices, stand in the front rank of reform, and contribute their youth and strength to the building of a socialist, modernized Harbin!

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CSO: 4005/757

## PARTY AND STATE

### WORKERS URGED TO BECOME ADVANCED PRODUCERS

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Feb 83 p 1

[Article: "Develop the Spirit of Reform, Let Everyone Strive To Be Advanced"]

[Text] As the spring wind of reform blows throughout our great motherland, the municipal party committee has made the decision to launch throughout the municipality, on a larger scale and in a down-to-earth manner, a movement to have people strive to be advanced producers. This decision will definitely mobilize the broad masses of staff members and workers to display a revolutionary spirit, stand in the front rank of reform, actively immerse themselves in the movement to become advanced producers, and make a new contribution towards speeding up the pace of building the two civilizations in our municipality, completing the Sixth Five-Year Plan, and opening up new prospects in all areas of work.

Increasing economic benefits is the main objective of this program to become advanced producers. We should conscientiously and thoroughly extricate ourselves from the force of habit of our past tendency to pay attention only to quantity and speed and not pay attention to quality or the variety of products; everyone should expend effort on increasing economic benefits; and the staff members and workers of the entire municipality, in order to increase economic benefits, should engage in emulating, learning from, catching up with, and helping one another. We should look to see which factories, and which workers, produce products of good quality at a reasonable price, products that are readily marketable, are rapidly upgraded and up-dated; look to see who consumes the least, whose production costs are low, and whose products have competitive power in the market.

The important special characteristic of launching an advanced producer program in the eighties is our reliance upon scientific and technical progress. Merely placing emphasis on having people make an all-out expenditure of physical strength by working extra hours and shifts is already not appropriate to the demands of modernization. We should be bold in establishing new methods, smash old patterns and conventions, employ our principal energies in the study and mastery of advanced techniques, and enable more enterprises and workers to adopt advanced production methods. Engineering and technical personnel are the hard core for developing advanced techniques. They should bring their proficiencies into full play, and contribute their wisdom and strength to the development of new techniques.

This advanced producer movement is being launched during the high tide of reform, and bears the mission of the reform of economic organizational systems and a whole series of other reforms. The corrupt practice, nurtured over a long period, of lying on the body of socialism and eating out of "the big pot" has caused our enterprises to lack vitality. We should study the experience of rural areas in carrying out their production contract systems, implement all kinds of economic responsibility systems within our enterprises, and thoroughly overcome the problem of egalitarianism. The worker class should participate in reform, support reform, lead reform, and cause reform to pervade the entire process of the advanced producer movement.

The advanced producer movement is a movement unifying the building of material civilization and the building of spiritual civilization. Expendng a great effort in carrying out communist ideological education of staff and workers, and expending a great effort in propagandizing the advanced thinking and deeds of model personages, will definitely promote the building of material civilization. If only the various levels of party committee strengthen their leadership of the advanced producer movement, a new, strong upsurge on the part of staff and workers to emulate and catch up with the advanced, become more advanced if one is already advanced, and to do all one can to catch up if one is lagging behind, will certainly appear, and will vigorously promote the advancement of all of our enterprises.

9634

CSO: 4005/757

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### NEW EFFORTS TO EDUCATE PARTY MEMBERS URGED

Shanghai DANG DE SHENGHUO [PARTY LIFE] in Chinese No 2, 83 Mar 83 pp 3-4

[Article by Shi Ren [2514 0086]: "Study the Characteristics of the Work of Educating Party Members, Initiate a New Situation for the Education of Party Members"]

[Text] In his essay "On the Question of Ideological and Political Work," Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that "every type of work and every department has its own characteristics. To understand things and events we must begin with their characteristics. He, who can clearly understand the relationship between the characteristics of his own department and other things and events, will get results from his work." The education of party members is also a science. Studying and exploring its characteristics are an important topic in initiating a new situation in the work to educate party members.

What is the current state of the work of educating party members. First, it equates the education of party members with that of the masses. Party members learn what the masses learn; the substance and meeting are the same. Second, we stress learning current affairs and policies, situations and tasks (which are of course necessary) but do not adequately teach basic theory of Marxism-Leninism and basic knowledge of the party. We often consider things as they stand and cannot rise to the theoretical plane so that some party members may gain a fundamental understanding of the party's line, policies and guiding principles. Third, we stress short-term rotational training and not enough emphasis is given to day-to-day education. Fourth, we emphasize piecemeal and provisional education for party members and give matters no further thought and discussion and we lack long-term planning. Other than being governed by the mentality of "simplicity and saving trouble" and a "perfunctory attitude" the above-mentioned problems are all somehow related to the failure to understand clearly the education of party members.

What really are the characteristics of the education of party members and how is it different from other types of education? This is a problem that is worth inquiry.

First, Communist Party members are the advanced elements of the working class. The "advanced character" of advanced elements of the advanced class is an

essential feature of Communist Party members and is also a prominent feature of the education of party members. The beginning and end in educating party members are to enable every party member to join the party not only organizationally but also ideologically, use proletarian thinking to transform all kinds of nonproletarian thinking, truly become the advanced elements of the advanced class and Communist Party members who are worthy of their name, have high standards and are completely qualified.

Based on this characteristic, the education of party members must give priority to communist world outlook and outlook on life. The core of the education of party members is to teach them communist ideals and beliefs. At the same time, we must attach enormous importance to conforming to the interests of the party and people, and to wholehearted service to the people, making explicit the compatibility between the struggle for communism and serving the people. At present, some party members have the problem to varying degrees of being weak in their belief in communism and lacking revolutionary ideals. As their spiritual pillar is shaken, the mentality of serving the people will correspondingly weaken, many problems will grow, and individualism and single-mindedness toward money will seriously corrode the soul of some Communist Party members. This explains our former lack of attention to the characteristics of the education of party members. At the same time, it poses an extremely solemn question as to what the education of party members should emphasize and what a basic and firm grasp of the core is. The secretary of the party committee of a certain factory has put it well: Education must stress the basic problem, that is, resolving the problem of outlook on life and world outlook. Party members must be made to understand this principle: Communist Party members believe in Marxism and their bouden duty is to make communism a reality and to liberate all of mankind.

Second, party members must carry out the party's program, laws and regulations and must work in party organizations. This is the major principle in the Marxist-Leninist theory on party building. For the party member there is a question of self-conscious conformity to party leadership and self-conscious strengthening of the character of organized discipline. A strong "character of organized discipline" is a distinct symbol of the difference between a proletarian political party and other political parties, and a basic condition each party member should have. Therefore, we must teach party members to understand clearly about the party's nature, program and line, goals, organizational principles, work style and discipline. We must teach them to have a strong sense of responsibility for the party, support and self-consciously carry out the party's line, policies and guiding principles and maintain political consistency with the party Central Committee. This is a key topic in the education of party members. At present, there are still those who doubt and contradict the party's line, policies and guiding principles, advance factionalism, liberalism and anarchism and disregard organized discipline. There are also frequent cases of refusal to pay party dues, participate in organized life, conform to organizational mobilization and do party work. These circumstances and problems are still corroding the body of the party, damaging party prestige and affecting the party's combat strength. Quite a few people sincerely hope to change this situation, and they have said it well:



"We are not afraid of problems inside the party but are concerned with the party organization losing its combat strength." Therefore, strengthening the party character of party members is an urgent task facing the education of party members.

Third, the communist ideals of party members are expressed by the practice of party members and their role as vanguards and models. Each Communist Party member must not forget the major goal and "must not forget today's efforts" but must self-consciously combine theory and practice and achieve unity of thought and action. In other words, practice is another characteristic of the education of party members. Based on this characteristic, in order to develop the education of party members we must be good at explaining that the party's line, policies and guiding principles are the product combined from the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and the concrete practice of revolution and construction. They are the concrete manifestation of communist ideals. In accordance with the concrete demands set by the new tasks in the new period and various central work of the party, we must be good at making party members self-consciously use communist ideology to guide their own actions, give play to their trailblazing and exemplary role at their own posts, continually initiate new situations and practice communism in a concrete and down-to-earth manner. We must make party members fully confident in ideals, do their work with enthusiasm, self-consciously resist the corrosion by bourgeois thinking and the vestiges of feudal ideology, be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, not to seek private gains or engage in special privileges, use their own trailblazing and exemplary role to unite and lead the masses. The trailblazing and exemplary role of the whole body of party members is the actual communist movement. In other words, teaching party members to give play to their trailblazing and exemplary role is itself a refutation of the argument that "communism is vague."

Fourth, the education of party members is primarily a political and ideological education. It is governed and restricted by the laws of ideological development and change as well as by the laws of education. To educate, we must explain, instill, follow in order and advance step by step, teach with skill and patience, teach to accommodate others, and we must have the conditions and institutions necessary to education. Political and ideological education inspires face-to-face, persuades, and gathers and searches, uses the advanced proletarian thinking to overcome various nonproletarian thinking, uses Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to arm and educate party members so that they will become self-conscious fighters for communism. Therefore, arousing the communist self-consciousness of party members to exert vigorous efforts on the "self-conscious character" is another characteristic of the education of party members. In order to give play to internal causes and put our efforts on enhancing political consciousness we must use criticism and self-criticism to resolve problems of ideological understanding. As for problems of a theoretical, joint and tendentious character, we can resolve them through the enlarged class. As for problems of individuals and individual ideological understanding, we need to resolve them by means of "one key opens one lock" and by diverse, lively forms and methods such as "imparting in a gentle and mild way" and "the gradual and patient way." Educating party members is not

something that is done once and for all. The process of enhancing their mentality and the repetitive character of ideological understanding caused by various factors determine the long-term character of the work of educating party members and demand institutionalization of varied forms of education such as the "three meeting and one class." To safeguard the purity of the proletarian political party and as we must combine education and rectification, to deal with those who repeatedly do not correct themselves and who violate party rules and regulations and create serious consequences for the party, we must enforce with discipline and achieve the goals of education through ideological education and organizational rectification.

Fifth, the geographical distribution, age, length of party membership, education, employment, nationality and foundation of party members are different and the central task of the party in each period is also different. This cannot but generate the "complex character" of the education of party members. On the basis of having a firm grasp of the general character it is entirely necessary to pay appropriate attention to the specific character. This requires us to make an earnest and meticulous investigation and study of the various conditions among party members. We must gain a good understanding of various data and related conditions of the education of party members, be able to suit measures to the times, local conditions and the people from educational substance to form and from steps to methods, and proceed from actual effects and give classified guidance. We must solidly stress quantity, and even more so we must earnestly stress quality. We must make unified demands but also allow certain areas or units to carry out targeted education because of different circumstances. For example, some prefectures and units have initially discovered fundamental education for strengthening the party character of new party members, starting from the ABC of Marxism-Leninism; education to arouse the revolutionary youthfulness of veteran party members, encouraging them to carry fine traditions forward and strive for even greater honor; education of public servants for party members and leading cadres, stressing the aspect of not divorcing themselves from the masses and reality; and in minority nationality areas education of party members on Marxist-Leninist views on nationalities and religion, correctly handling these relationships. Again, for example, some units resolve problems of tendentiousness by rotational training, problems relating to party character by small-scale rectification and problems of fortuity by heart-to-heart talks, vigorously popularizing exemplary deeds. All this is worth borrowing.

On behalf of the party Central Committee, Comrade Hu Yaobang has recently made an important speech on the four modernizations and the problem of reform. He pointed out that without reform we will not be able to realize the four modernizations. Therefore, we must now make reform the substance, aim education at the varying circumstances of all units and enhance the understanding of reform and self-consciousness among the broad masses of party members. Countless facts have proved that relatively good results are achieved whenever attention is given to the characteristics of the "complex character" of the education of party members, varying conditions are differentiated and multiple measures are adopted in education. Not only does this benefit changing the work of educating party members in some units for its "arbitrary uniformity," "cooking in one pot," "transcience" and "perfunctory performance." It also helps make the work of educating party members be extensive and move on the right path.

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### REFORM OF CADRE SYSTEM STRESSED

Shanghai DANG DE SHENGHUO [PARTY LIFE] in Chinese No 2, 83 Mar 83 p 11

[Article by Zhang Zhuwu [1728 4554 2745]: "Let the Flowers of Reform of the Cadre System Fully Bloom"]

[Text] Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee our party has completely brought order out of chaos in its guiding ideology and to varying degrees reforms have been carried out on every front with heartening results. In reforming the cadre system, numerous cadres of grass-roots units stand in the forefront of reform and dare to explore and practice. One by one the gorgeous flowers of reform bloom in contention everywhere and show endless vitality.

Shahe Commune of Changping County in Beijing experimented with the cadre hiring system. Beginning in 1980 it changed the system of appointment of cadres to one of hiring. All cadres to be employed by the communes have to pass a professional examination and a half-year practical training and the best are selected according to performance. Whether in economic or administrative work, all cadres on the staff are not given the "iron rice bowl" and the system of personal responsibility is strictly enforced with fixed posts, fixed tasks and fixed rewards. Routine check is carried out during the contract period of employment. Those who are competent will continue their employment and those who are not will return to their original place. Over 2 years of practice has proved that this has enhanced the dedication and sense of duty of cadres, increased work efficiency and promoted production growth.

The Shanghai Jiaotong University allows mobility among its staff. Through staff mobility in the last 3 years, the university has transferred a total of more than 400 of its teachers and staff workers, of whom over 200 are teachers. As for the 700 or so staff members who were overfilled, even though they were in accord with regulations, arrangement is being made for them in technical service development work. This has resulted in an initial change in the irrational structure of the teacher contingents and overstaffing condition. It has made it possible for each to do his best and each to be in his proper place so that a new situation has arisen in teaching, scientific research and production.

Mindong Electrical Machinery Corporation allows the "freedom to set up cabinets." The principal jobs in all departments and factories under this corporation are filled by nominations of the general manager which are submitted to the party committee for discussion and decision. After the principal jobs are filled, those appointed are allowed to select suitable staff within the entire corporation and organize their own groups; these are then reported to the party committee for examination and approval. Groups selected this way are mostly intelligent and capable; they coordinate by tacit understanding and have the fighting strength to work for the four modernizations.

These are all new things and events arising from reform of the cadre system. What enlightenment and inspiration do they give us? In my opinion there are at least three points:

First, we must enhance our understanding of reform. Reform is to destroy the old and create the new, eradicate the old regulations, conventions and work style that do not suit the demands of the new historical task and revolutionary practice, assiduously study new conditions, resolve new problems, sum up new experience and initiate a new situation. Reform of the cadre system is the same. The current cadre system in China gradually took shape and developed in a long period of revolution and work practice and has played a positive role in realizing the political line of the party in different periods of time. But the situation has changed and many aspects of the current cadre system are increasingly unsuitable to the needs of the four modernizations. The prominent defects as epitomized by the words of the masses of people are "iron rice bowl" and "the big pot." If we do not make corresponding reforms of the defects in the cadre system, we will not be able to build our cadre contingents in accordance with the demands of making them revolutionized, rejuvenated, knowledgeable and specialized; and the party will not be able to realize its general line in the new period. Therefore, we must understand the extreme importance and urgency of reform of the cadre system in terms of the demands of the times, the will of the people and the needs of the four modernizations.

Second, we must be promoters of reform. The reform of the cadre system concerns all quarters and departments. Like reform in other areas, it is an extensive revolution which severely tests the party character of every Communist Party member and cadre. Each of our party members and cadres should foster a mentality that dares to reform. In particular, party members and cadres of the party's administrative departments and organization departments should be "a little more liberated in their thinking, a little more daring in reform," and compete to become promoters of reform in order to promote our organization and cadre work and safeguard the successful realization of the party's political line.

Third, we must dare to explore, continually summarize and enhance. The experimental points in reform listed above are merely a start and the results are preliminary. They are still not perfected and need to be explored further. When taking the mass line as the basis, we must summarize in earnest so that they will continually improve, become perfected day-by-day and gradually become popularized. We cannot sound the retreat and shake our determination to reform simply because it is imperfect or because we face certain difficulties and setbacks.

This is the first year in which we initiate a new situation for socialist modernization, and it is also the first year in which all quarters carry out an overall, systematic, determined and orderly reform. The whole year's work depends on a good start in spring. Let the flowers of reform of the cadre system fully bloom. A whole scientific cadre system that suits our national conditions will gradually be established and perfected in this period of reform.

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CSO: 4005/765



SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LU DINGYI'S SELF-CRITICISM OF MISTAKES ON KNOWLEDGE, INTELLECTUALS

HK291201 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Apr 83 p 5

["Excerpts" from article in MINZHU YU FAZHI No 4, 1983: "Comrade Lu Dingyi on Knowledge and Intellectuals"--passage within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /Not long ago, when interviewing Comrade Lu Dingyi, a correspondent of MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM], happened to see that he was drafting a letter to Comrade Hu Yaobang. The larger part of the letter was devoted to his previous mistakes on the problems of knowledge and intellectuals and his self-criticism. Following is one paragraph of the letter and Comrade Lu Dingyi's explanation./

At that time (in the early post-liberation days), we should have sent some party members (peasant-origin cadres) to receive education, but not to "rapid result" schools. They should have been cultivated until they graduated from universities. If we had done this for 10 or 20 years, it would have been better for us in carrying out the construction in our country. I must also bear responsibility for the failure to put forth the task. This was a great mistake.

If one makes mistakes, one must acknowledge them. I am a graduate of Jiaotong University and have been in charge of propaganda, culture and education work for quite a long time. But I failed to attach importance to knowledge and intellectuals. This, of course, is a very serious mistake. An army without culture is a dull-witted army. Without culture, people know nothing about democracy and the legal system and are prone to engage in feudal practices. The movement of massive steelmaking deteriorated to wanton felling of trees and the practice that grain must be taken as the key link in agriculture deteriorated to the elimination of all sideline production. The mistake was due to wrong orders at upper levels and blind following at lower levels. Their common ground is ignorance. As ignorant people look down upon educated people, intellectuals suffered for quite a long time. Worse, they were treated as the "stinking ninth people" in the "Cultural Revolution." Therefore, the importance we attach to knowledge and intellectuals means bringing order out of chaos after learning the lesson of so many years. This should be resolutely carried out as a national policy, and is absolutely not promoted by a sudden impulse.

CSO: 4005/831

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POLITICAL BUREAU MEMBER VISITS JINAN UNIVERSITY

HK131045 Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 6 May 83 p 1

[Article: "Political Bureau Member Wang Zhen Inspects Jian University"]

[Text] Wang Zhen, member of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau, inspected Jinan University yesterday afternoon. He was warmly welcomed by leading cadres, teachers, and students of the university.

During his visit, Wang Zhen was accompanied by Yang Kanghua, deputy director of the provincial CPC committee's advisory committee, first secretary of the Jinan University CPC Committee, and president of Jinan University, Wang Yue, experienced educator and advisor of Jinan University, and other responsible comrades. Wang Zhen had a friendly informal discussion with the leading cadres, professors and teachers of the university. He expressed satisfaction with teachers' diligent studies and the healthy atmosphere of respecting teachers and teachers cherishing students in the university. He said: Jinan University is an Overseas Chinese university which develops the intellect and trains qualified personnel for the four modernizations of the state. It also helps to train descendants of good character and scholarship for Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan compatriots. At the same time, it bears the honorable task of spreading Chinese civilization to the whole world. He hoped that everyone would make great efforts in developing China, in building the socialist state, in safeguarding world peace and in the just cause.

Wang Zhen went to a classroom afterward and attended a lesson on communist ideology and moral character with students from the journalism department, the Chinese literature department, the biology department and the foreign languages department. Then he went happily to the rostrum and delivered a speech to the teachers and students. He said: In our implementation of the four socialist modernizations, we need tens of thousands of learned personnel in varied fields, such as natural science and sociology. The Chinese nation is an ambitious, courageous, diligent and intelligent nation. We must set high aims and have lofty aspirations to develop the honorable tradition of our past arduous struggle, in order to build our nation into a modern, powerful socialist nation. He encouraged the young students by reminding them: You are descendants of the Chinese nation and successors of the revolution. Your responsibilities are very heavy. Yet our hope is pinned on you.

Comrade Yang Kanghua thanked Wang Zhen for his solicitude on behalf of all teachers and students. He said that they would be resolute in never letting the veteran proletarian revolutionaries down.

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### STATE COUNCIL ISSUES HIGHER EDUCATION CIRCULAR

OW061400 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1413 GMT 4 May 83

[Text] Beijing, 4 May (XINHUA)--In approving and transmitting a "Report on Speeding Up the Development of Higher Education" by the Ministry of Education and the State Planning Commission, the State Council recently issued a circular calling for implementing the report according to conditions in various areas and departments.

The circular says: The 12th Party Congress has determined that education is one of the strategic priorities in our country's modernization. To carry out this strategic policy decision, it is imperative to take effective measures to change the situation in which education is unsuited to economic and social development. This urgently calls for speeding up the development of higher education in order to train a larger number of better professional personnel of various kinds for the four-modernization drive. All areas and departments must have a clear understanding of the importance and urgency of this matter and make more funds available for education. We must do as good a job in running education as we do in building key economic construction projects.

The circular points out: Institutions of higher learning are important places for training professional personnel. It is necessary to set a number of standards and to adopt various forms to speed up the development of higher education at various levels. While doing so, we should gradually readjust the proportions between various branches of higher education. We should set up more colleges for professional training and pay attention to the development of specialties urgently needed in construction. While tapping schools' potentials, we should insure that there are conditions for running them well. Every possible effort should be made to provide operating expenses and construction investment for the quick development of higher education.

The report says: In implementing the program laid down by the 12th Party Congress, all areas and fronts deeply feel the shortage of professional personnel and urgently call for educational departments to play a pioneering role and train a larger number of qualified personnel for the state at an early date. Therefore, speeding up the development of higher education is a major task that brooks no delay. Effective measures must be taken to promote a considerable, planned and proportionate development of higher education in the near future (the next 5 years or so) and lay a foundation for more development in the future.

The report points out: We are continuing to implement the policy of "readjusting, restructuring, reorganizing and updating" the national economy. Therefore, in speeding up the development of higher education in our country, it is necessary to follow the following five principles: 1) We must try in every possible way to speed up the development of higher education by surmounting difficulties and at the same time pay attention to the feasibility of such development; 2) It is necessary to adopt various forms, open up new avenues, mobilize the enthusiasm of people in various quarters and continue to implement the principle of "walking on two legs"; 3) In the course of developing higher education, it is necessary to readjust and reform the internal structure of higher education and set up more colleges for the training of urgently needed professional or specialized personnel; 4) It is necessary to set various requirements for the quality of education at different levels and make vigorous efforts to build up key schools and key vocational schools; and 5) It is necessary to plan for the overall development of higher education in 4 or 5 years and broadly arrange for a steady increase in the number of recruited students so as to prevent a sharp rise or drop in this regard.

CSO: 4005/831

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### RECOMMENDATIONS ON REFORM OF SECONDARY EDUCATION ISSUED

OW130551 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0944 GMT 11 May 83

[Excerpts] Beijing, 11 May (XINHUA)--The Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Labor and Personnel, the Ministry of Finance and the State Planning Commission on 9 May jointly issued to the departments concerned of various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions a document "Recommendations on Restructuring Urban Secondary Education and Developing Vocational and Technical Education." They call on all localities to implement the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress and adopt effective measures to accelerate and promote the restructuring of urban secondary education and the development of vocational and technical education.

The document says: Several years' efforts have brought about changes in the structure of unitary secondary education and led to the preliminary development of vocational and technical education. The enrollment of urban vocational middle schools (classes) and vocational (technical) schools in China exceeded 350,000 in 1982.

The document points out that priority should be given to solving the following problems, in order to restructure urban secondary education and develop vocational and technical education:

1. We should enhance our understanding and put vocational and technical education in its proper perspective.
2. We should further clarify our orientation, ways and demands for the restructuring of secondary education and for the development of vocational and technical education. In order to restructure urban secondary education, we should primarily reform senior middle school education to make it meet the needs of our socialist modernization and meet the changes in our economic system, production structure and labor employment. The primary ways to restructure secondary education are:
  1. To turn some regular senior middle schools into vocational middle schools or vocational (technical) schools, or to set up vocational classes in regular senior middle schools;
  2. To encourage various trades and professions to run vocational middle schools, vocational (technical) schools or vocational and technical training classes of various durations;



3. To add vocational and technical subjects to the curricula of regular senior middle schools; and

4. To reform and run well specialized secondary and technical workers' schools.

CS0: 4005/831

'GUANGMING RIBAO' REPORTS ON VALUING TALENT IN HAN DYNASTY

HK111412 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 27 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Peng Wei [1756 5898], postgraduate of the History Department of Xibei University: "Characteristics of the Theory of Valuing Talent in the Han Dynasty"]

[Text] Many distinctive characteristics of the ancient theory of advocating the recruitment of virtuous people to staff the civil service of the empire were formed during the Han Dynasty:

1. The Predominate Position of the Theory of Advocating Virtuous People of Talent in the Han Dynasty

There were wide differences among the thinkers of the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods on the selection of virtuous people of talent. But in the Han Dynasty, the advocacy of recruiting virtuous people of talent was accepted by all thinkers. From Lu Jia, Jia Ji, and Dong Zhongshu to Wang Yun, Zhong Changton, and Wang Fu, this idea of advocating virtuous people of talent in the political life of the state was also highly valued. In surveying the experience and lessons of the fall of the Qin Dynasty, all thinkers of the Han Dynasty noticed the problem in the use of personnel in the Qin Dynasty. They regarded the charging of Zhao Gao with important tasks, the dismissal of honest, virtuous people of talent, and the cutting off of all channels of remonstrance as important causes of the fall of the Qin Dynasty during the reign of its second emperor. "Recruiting virtuous people of talent to staff the civil service will make the state prosperous." Part Five of the chapter entitled "Jing Hua" of the book "Chun Qiu Fan Lu" was unanimously advocated by the Han thinkers. This illustrates that the struggle between the pros and cons of the theory of advocating virtuous people of talent which had lasted for over 4 centuries throughout the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods, came to an end in the Han Dynasty with the complete victory of the theory.

2. Attention to and Survey of the Obstructions Met in the Appointment of Virtuous People of Talent

The Han thinkers regarded jealousy as the greatest obstruction in recommending and selecting virtuous people of talent. They detested "ignorant and

presumptuous officials abusing virtuous people of talent" and "rumors and slanders injuring virtuous people of talent." At the same time, they coolly estimated the capability of those people and pointed out: "Support for the abuse and slander of each other, and the eulogizing of one another among those who spread slanders will reach the top echelon and go to whatever depth." ("Xin Yu," Part Five of the chapter entitled "Bian Huo")

The Han thinkers also paid attention to surveying the cause of jealousy toward virtuous people of talent. Wang Fu indicated that most of those ignorant and presumptuous officials were close attendants of kings and lords. Leaning on power and influence, they acted wildly in defiance of the law or public opinion but were afraid of being punished by various people of talent who were upright and never stopped to flattery. At the same time, they were afraid of their lord finding out that though they were in high positions, they were inferior to virtuous people of talent in ability, which would result in the loss of their official status and high positions. Therefore, the fundamental cause of the jealousy toward and injury to virtuous people of talent on the part of those ignorant and presumptuous officials was the vigorous efforts to preserve their own power and privileges. (See "Qian Fu Lun," Part Six of the chapter titled "Ming An") This analysis is doubtlessly correct.

In his view, Wang Fu believed that in requiring the lords to fend off vicious remarks and to appoint honest people of talent, it was primarily necessary to achieve the following three points: First, avoid the appointment of people by favoritism and practice the appointment of people on their merits. He said: "From the end of the Spring and Autumn period, it was in the system of the Warring States that the positions of general, prime minister and high officials were conferred on close relatives of the lords," resulting in the grave consequences of "failing to govern well for the benefit of the people; enjoying a high salary but doing nothing; contributing no meritorious service while taking emoluments; being seated in a position but failing to fulfill the duty." ("Qian Fu Lun," Part Seven of the chapter titled "Si Xian") Second, avoid listening only to one side and practice listening to both sides. That ignorant, presumptuous officials could succeed in repelling virtuous people of talent was closely linked to the heeding and trusting of only one side on the part of the lord. Third, the lord should not stand high above the people [transmission garbled], making his views known to the public and receiving the lowly with respect, with a view to [transmission garbled] appearance of virtuous people of talent." Only by doing so will all revenues for people of talent be opened; then, "good officials will gather at court, and the conditions of the lower levels will reach the lord." ("Qian Fu Lun," Part Six of the chapter titled "Ming An")

[HK111414] Next, the selection of talented people should be carried out through examination. The establishment of the examination system is a "shortcut" for recognizing talented people and for the selection and employment of the talented. Wang Fu sharply pointed out that without examination, the practice of spreading rumors that injure virtuous people of talent would grow and give rise to "indolence" in all state organs. He said in an analogy: "In a family where there are 5 sons and 10 grandsons, if the parents make no

distinction between the intelligent and the weak, the former will turn slack while the latter will pursue evildoings; this is the way to squander the family's property and ruin it." "If the chief official does not examine the merits of his subordinates, they will turn arrogant and lazy and malefactors will abound; and if emperors and kings do not examine merits, upright officials will be restrained and hypocrites will win. Therefore, it is said in the 'shu,' 'Hold an examination once every 3 years and it will be clear as black and white who is to be dismissed and who deserves a promotion.' Therefore, it is a means to make a distinction between the intelligent and the ignorant and to encourage the able." ("Qian Fu Lun," Part Seven of the chapter titled "Kao J.") The scope of examination should also include those officials who selected virtuous people of talent. Those who recommended virtuous people of talent should be commended and "rewarded" and those who failed to do so should be punished and even removed from office. The fact that the Han thinkers attached great attention to the examination system has proved that they had come to realize that their hopes of recommending virtuous people of talent should not be pinned on the imperial lord alone, but that certain systems should be instituted to insure the selection of such people. Under the Chinese feudal, autocratic system, this was beyond doubt a worthy idea, and it was also an important contribution of the Han thinkers to the ancient Chinese theory of advocating virtuous people of talent.

### 3. Standardization on Virtuous People of Talent and the Weakening of the Idea of Class Distinctions in the Appointment of Virtuous People of Talent

During the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods, various schools advocating the theory of recruiting virtuous people of talent to staff the civil service invariably made as the major standard for judging the talented people in question whether the person followed the ideas of its own school. For instance, the virtuous people of talent praised by the Confucian school were those who had a good grasp of the doctrines of "Ren" and "Yi" and a good command of the doctrines of "Li" and "Yue." The Mohist school held their standard of virtuous people of talent to be those who avoided anything that was wasteful and destructive and denounced extravagant musical festivals, elaborate funerals, and [transmission garbled]. The Han thinkers dismissed the the sectarian standards of diversified schools on virtuous people of talent and and reached unanimity on the essential standards of virtuous people of talent. Of these standards, uprightness and daring to be outspoken came first. Lu Jia believed that a virtuous person of talent "would not permit illicit evil relations in his conduct and would not readily subscribe to different views in his speech." ("Xin Yu," Part Five of chapter titled "Bian Huo") Hang Fu also pointed out that virtuous people of talent should defy a ferocious adversary and be "indomitable in struggle and not fear the strong." ("Qian Fu Lun," Part 10 of chapter titled "Qian Tan") Next came cherishing and devoting much attention to the people and make them suffer, while it was wise to teach and cherish them." ("Xin Shu," Part Two of chapter entitled "Xiu Zheng Yu") Virtuous people of talent should "appease the world in the doctrine of 'Ren'; their benevolence will reach the grass and trees and be beneficial in both internal and external affairs." ("Qian Fu Lun," Part 11 of chapter titled "Zheng Kuei") Second, the recommendation and sponsorship of virtuous people of talent should depend on their actual work ability. Dong Zhongshu put

forth the idea that "a person's innate character determines whether he is intelligent or ignorant, not the articles he has written." In recruiting virtuous people of talent, it was required that appearances be seen through, exposing the essence. Wang Cong and Wang Fu also advocated that with no practical working ability, virtuous people with nominal talent should not be recruited, and those who were known as ignorant but were able to do a good job should be assigned work suited to their ability. (See "Lun Heng," the chapter titled "Ding Xian Pian" and "Gian Fu," Part Eight of the chapter titled "Si Xiang") Therefore, it can be seen that the standards for virtuous people of talent included the two aspects of "virtue" and "talent," and they went further in depth and detail compared with those before the Qin Dynasty.

[HK111416] In the pre-Qin ideas of advocating virtuous people of talent, there was a comparatively strong sense of class distinction. It was Confucius' view that the recruitment of virtuous people of talent should only be adopted by the rulers of states in a top-to-bottom way, and virtuous people of talent were not allowed to take part in civil affairs on a [word garbled] basis. The Si Meng School also advocated that in selecting virtuous people of talent, the principle of class distinction of observing differences between the high and the low and between close and distant relationships should not be violated. In the early and middle parts of the Western Han Period, the theory of advocating virtuous people of talent of Jia Yi and Dong Zhongshu said: "A virtuous person of talent would become unfilial should he leave home; he should be respectful to his parents." ("Chun Qiu Fan Lu," Part 11 of the chapter titled "Meng Huei") "In spite of one's virtue and talent and a graceful physique, he should not dare put on the outfit of a noble if he is not knighted." ("Chun Qiu Fan Lu," Part 26 of the chapter titled "Fu Zi") However, in the latter part of the Western Han, especially during the Eastern Han, along with the growing inferiority of feudal officials, the Han thinkers came to realize that "those in high positions are not necessarily virtuous and talented." (So, it had gradually become their unanimous view that in recommending virtuous people of talent, it was unnecessary to give consideration to their origins, high or low, and that the standard of class distinction should have no effect. They borrowed the lessons of history to make it clear that "the fall of the second emperor of Qin was due to his prime minister and attendants; while Liu Pang established his regime on the strength of weavers, teahouse waiters, butchers, and the very lowly. Rascals from Mount Li and bandits of the wilderness had all become famous generals. Therefore, so long as the right men are found, there is no need to worry about their social backgrounds, and so long as the talented are found, there is no need to dislike their past." ("Qian Fu Lun," Part Nine of the chapter titled "Ben Zheng"))

To sum up, there was an important development in the ancient theory of advocating the recruitment of virtuous people of talent during the Han Dynasty. Since then, the theory has taken deep root in the hearts of people. The valuable theory of opposing jealousy toward virtuous people of talents and the valuable idea of recruiting and recommending virtuous people of talent regardless of social background played an active role in enriching the talent theory of ancient China in the reformation of feudal politics.



'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON VIEWPOINT OF 1911 REVOLUTION

HK110624 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 27 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Zhou Junqi [0719 0193 2475], research worker of Tianjin Historical Research Institute: "An Analysis of the Theory of 'Military Adventures'-- Questioning a Traditional Viewpoint in the Study of the History of the 1911 Revolution"]

[Text] In the study of the history of the 1911 revolution, traditional viewpoints have all summarized the armed uprisings of the bourgeois revolutionaries as "military adventures" and "military adventurism by revolutionary partisans." I think this issue should be open to question.

First of all, those who hold the theory of "military adventures" do not believe that the revolutionaries had a common general military plan. They hold that the opinions among the revolutionaries were widely divided and each did things in his own way, and as a result, their military operations were not in unison. As a matter of fact, although there were differences in ideas among the revolutionaries, on the whole, they held identical views on major issues, and as time went by they gradually reached unanimity on principal revolutionary matters. With regard to the forces to be relied on in revolution, Huang Xing maintained that the uprisings should be simultaneously organized by the Qing army, students and the secret societies; the central branch and headquarters of the Tong Meng Hui [Chinese Revolutionary League] and the Guang Fu Hui [Restoration Society] also maintained that the secret societies and the new army be the main force of the revolution; and although for a long time Sun Yat-sen regarded the secret societies as the only reliable force, he also attached importance to the work to win over the new army. With regard to the locality for staging the first uprising, Sun Yat-sen preferred Guangdong and Guangxi; Huang Xing preferred Hunan; Song Jiaoren wanted the Chiangjiang valley; and the Guang Fu Hui preferred Anhui and Zhenjiang. In appearance, their difference seemed to be poles apart, but in fact they were not. The disputes on where to stage the uprising within the revolutionary ranks were but different views over the conditions of various localities, with each preferring the place where he deemed the conditions were most ripe. This did not harm the overall situation of opposing the Qing government. This was proved by the Wuchang uprising, which was responded to by the revolutionary partisans of various localities. We must also be aware that there was something in common in the different opinions on choosing the first place to rise in revolt: They all preferred localities in southern China where conditions were ripe, and intended

to gradually develop their forces to the north from this basis in order to arouse the whole country with the response of the various localities. Therefore, the differences within the revolutionary ranks did not affect the majority in commonly performing their military plans. "Reserving differences" did not affect "seeking common ground."

While discussing the theory of "military adventures," many comrades invariably avoid the appraisal of the Wuchang uprising. It may well be asked: If the revolutionaries practiced military adventures, was the Wuchang uprising also a practice of adventure? If not, why did the military adventures practiced by the revolutionaries for over a decade come to an end only 1/2 year after the Huang Hua Gang uprising? If the answer is yes, how can we explain the role of the Wuchang uprising which played the role of abolishing the Qing Dynasty? This is obviously unreasonable. The continuous implementation of the general military plans by the revolutionaries of the Wuchan uprising and its victory has proved that its general military plan accorded with the national condition. There is a marked difference between the military adventures and the military operations of the revolutionaries: military adventurists act recklessly in spite of the objective conditions, whereas the revolutionaries' plans conformed to reality; military adventurists are divorced from the broad masses, whereas the revolutionaries placed the guarantee of their victory on the response of the people of the whole country; military adventurists have no long-range strategic objectives or concrete measures to implement them, whereas the revolutionaries had a whole set of strategies, which made it quite clear whom to rely on, win over and attack, and when one place revolted, it was responded to by all sides throughout the country; military adventurists are short-lived and cannot last long, whereas the revolutionaries repeatedly took up the positions of the fallen and rose to fight one after another, stood the test of setbacks and achieved victory in overthrowing the Qing government. Owing to the limitations of its class nature, there were many shortcomings in the military plans of the revolutionaries. Nevertheless, they should not simply be crowned as engaging in "military adventures."

The second basis for those advocating the theory of "military adventures" is that "the uprisings of the revolutionaries were seriously divorced from the masses." There are two key points in the discussion of this issue: First, is the criteria for the integration of the armed uprisings with the masses. While appraising the bourgeois class in history, I believe we cannot divorce it from the concrete circumstances of history and judge the bourgeoisie by the requirements of the proletariat. The integration of the bourgeoisie with the masses of people to the greatest extent was but utilizing the masses to serve their struggle of seizing power. Such "utilization" was the method by which the bourgeoisie linked itself with the masses of people. The scale of uprisings staged by the revolutionaries against the Qing government was not large and the masses were not aroused in large numbers. [HK110626] However, we must be aware that in their strategy, the revolutionaries did not intend to rely on these people to overthrow the Qing Dynasty, but to let them play the vanguard role, with their influence encourage the people to respond and finally overthrow the Qing government with the strength of the people of the whole country. How can we regard such uprisings that are based on the response of the people of the whole country and that depend on the people to a great

extent as being "seriously" divorced from the masses? Second, from what angle should we observe the uprisings staged by the revolutionaries? Should we separate them from the entire background of the people's struggle and view the uprisings in isolation, or regard the uprisings as part of the people's struggle against the Qing Government? Should we observe the uprisings in isolation or analyze them by linking them with the consistent strategic principle of the revolutionaries? I believe we should adopt the latter. In the early years of the 20th century, the mass struggles of various forms launched by all the nationalities throughout the country were rising to a high tide. However, such spontaneous resistance by the masses were, after all, not well organized, and they did not have a definite political program and an objective for their struggle. The revolutionaries, who regarded the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty and the establishment of a republic state as their objective, and who set up their organizations and took up arms to attain this objective, became a vital new force of masses of people in their struggle against the Qing government. During this period, the armed uprisings of the revolutionaries were closely integrated with the struggle of the broad masses of people; the struggle of the revolutionaries to seize political power was linked with the interests of the people; and the armed uprisings represented the wishes of the people and the orientation of the times, and was also in coordination with the people's struggle. The period of the 1911 Revolution can be considered as the "golden years" of the integration of the Chinese bourgeoisie with the struggle of the masses. If the struggle against the Qing government launched by the masses of people at the end of the Qing Dynasty is like a surging river, then the uprisings of the revolutionaries is the main stream of this river and the various struggles launched by the masses are the tributaries that join the main stream and help intensify the billows and waves. If we use a magnificently sweeping symphony as a metaphor for the struggle against the Qing government launched by the masses of people at the end of the Qing Dynasty, the uprisings of the revolutionaries are then the melody of the symphony. The revolutionaries did not "completely divorce themselves from the masses," but to a great extent integrated their struggle with the masses of people in this part of history.

The third basis for those advocating the theory of "military adventures" is that "the revolutionaries were intent on assassination and risking everything on a single venture in their uprisings." It is indeed true that the revolutionaries did practice assassination and staged adventurist uprisings. However, can we prove from this point of view that the revolutionaries are military adventurists? This must be judged from the proportion of these adventurist activities in the overall military operations of the revolutionaries and see whether or not it forms a main trend. During the period of the 1911 revolution, due to the influence of anarchism within the revolutionary ranks, there were some people who were always inclined to assassination. The leaders of the revolutionaries, however, never regarded assassination as the chief measure of the revolution. Sun Yat-sen and Huang Xing also made every effort to prevent assassination activities. As an organization, the Tong Keng Hui never considered assassination as a principal means for carrying out revolution. The assassinations committed by the revolutionary partisans were almost all proposed by individuals or small groups and were simply spontaneous activities. The tendency of assassination was in fact a manifestation of despair in the revolutionary ranks when the revolution suffered temporary setbacks.

It has no connection with the general military plans of the revolutionaries and should not be regarded as the main trend of the military operations of the revolutionaries. For various reasons, except the Wuchang uprising, all the uprisings of the revolutionaries failed. Most of the uprisings were staged according to general military plans and very few of them were uprisings of military adventure. We cannot simply attribute them all to "military adventures."

To sum up, the military plans of the revolutionaries at that time were correct and feasible and were essentially different from military adventures. Therefore, it is not correct to attribute the military operations of the revolutionaries to "military adventures." The armed uprisings of the revolutionaries and their status in the modern history of China must be appraised in a just and objective manner.

CSO: 4005/831

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### URUMQI REFORMS LITERARY, ART UNDERTAKING

HK130404 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 12 May 83

[Station commentary: "Reform the Literary and Art Undertaking"]

[Text] (Yang Xinlun) and others of the Urumqi Beijing Opera Troupe have taken up responsibility for giving rotational performances on a contract basis. They have taken the lead in conducting reforms and thus set an example for literary and art workers of all nationalities.

At present, there is a strong demand for conducting reforms among various literary and art bodies of the Urumqi area. People universally hold that reforms of the literary and art undertaking are indispensable. It cannot develop without reforms.

In the past, most literary and art bodies instituted the management system whereby the state assumed overall responsibility. Problems such as overstaffing and egalitarianism were very common. Over a long period, these bodies depended on state subsidies. The enthusiasm and creativeness of actors were not duly brought to play. Literary and art exchanges and development were impeded. The quality of literary and art could not be easily improved. If we do not change this situation and if we do not abandon the practice of "eating out of the same big pot or iron bowl," we will never be able to open up a new situation in literary and art work.

The chief task in conducting reforms in literary and art work is to reform the management system, linking together responsibilities, rights and profits. We must give full play to everybody's enthusiasm, wisdom, and talents by upholding the principle of benefiting the state, collectives, and the individuals. Only in this way can the literary and art undertaking flourish.

In the course of conducting reforms, we must uphold party leadership and the orientation of literature and art serving the people and socialism. We must resolutely implement the "double hundreds" policy and strengthen ideological and political work. We must strengthen communist ideological education in light of new contradictions and problems emerging in the course of conducting reforms. We must resolutely overcome resistance from various quarters. We must carry out reforms in a guided way, by steps, in groups, in a down-to-earth manner and in accordance with the wishes of the masses. In this way, the flowers of reform will bloom fully in places north and south of the Tian-shan Mountain.

CSO: 4005/831



## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### BIOGRAPHIES OF CONGRESS, GOVERNMENT LEADERS IN XINJIANG

HK131432 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 6 May 83

[Text] The following are the biographies of the chairman and vice chairmen of the standing committee of the sixth regional people's congress.

Chairman: Tomur Dawamat

Male, 55 years old, of Uygur nationality, a native of Toksum County of Xinjiang Region, Tomur Dawamat is a CPC member. Having studied for 2 years in the Central Institute for Nationalities, he undertook the posts of township head, district deputy head, county magistrate, and secretary of the county CPC committee in Toksun County; deputy secretary of the (Dongxin) County CPC Committee of Turpan Prefecture; vice chairman of the regional people's committee; deputy head of the production command of the regional revolutionary committee; chief of the agricultural and animal husbandry bureau of the regional revolutionary committee; vice chairman of the regional revolutionary committee; secretary of the regional CPC committee; chairman of the standing committee of the regional people's congress; vice minister of the state Nationalities Affairs Commission; member of the CPC Central Committee; deputy to the third, fourth, and fifth NPC's; and member of the standing committee of the Fifth National People's Congress.

Vice chairman: Saifulayev

Male, 65 years old, of Uygur nationality, a native of Turpan of Xinjiang Region, Saifulayev is a CPC member. Having received senior secondary education, he held the following posts: chief of the personnel section of the educational department of the mountainous area revolutionary government in Xinjiang; chief of the educational bureau of Yining City; vice chairman and chairman of the Central Committee of the revolutionary youth league in the mountainous areas; acting magistrate of Gapqal County; head of the propaganda team of the southern Xinjiang Region; commissioner to Kashi Prefecture; deputy head of the organizational department and head of the personnel department of the regional CPC committee; chief procurator of the regional procuratorate; member of the secretariat of the regional CPC committee; deputy commissioner to Hami Prefecture; vice chairman of the regional CPPCC; and vice chairman of the standing committee of the regional people's congress.

Vice chairman: Yang Yiqing

Male, 66 years old, of Han nationality, a native of Wanzai County of Jiangxi Province, Yang Yiqing is a CPC member. Having reached an educational level equivalent to a senior secondary education, he has undertaken the posts of member of the preparatory regiment of the school of the Chinese workers' and peasants' Red Army; propagandist of the political department under the No 1 Independent Division of the Red Army in the Hunan and Jiangxi soviet area; clerk in companies, battalions, and regiments of the army; secretary of the battalion headquarters office under the 49th Regiment of the No 6 Army Group of the Red Army; secretary of battalion headquarters office under the 359th Brigade of the No 120 Division of the 8th Route Army; company political instructor, battalion deputy political instructor, deputy head of the regimental political department and concurrently head of the regimental organizational section subordinate to the department, deputy regiment commander, and regiment commander under the 359th Brigade; deputy political commissar of the training regiment of the 2d Army; political commissar of the light industry section of the logistics department of the Xinjiang Military District; political commissar and CPC committee secretary of the August 1 Iron and Steel Works; deputy head of the industrial and communications general office of the Xinjiang Provincial [as heard] People's Government; vice chairman of the regional construction commission and planning commission and, concurrently, vice chairman of the commodity price commission; head of the leading party nucleus and leading group of the regional revolutionary committee; and vice chairman of the standing committee of the regional people's congress.

Vice chairman: Lu Xuebin

Male, 70 years old, of Han nationality, a native of Cixi of Zhejiang, Lu Xuebin is a CPC member. Having reached an educational level equivalent to a university education, he worked with the underground party in Zhejiang Province, the New Fourth Army, and the CPC Central-South China Bureau. He successively held the posts of county magistrate and head of the county armed forces in the Wanjiang anti-Japanese base in Anhui Province, member of the standing committee of the Central Anhui Prefectural CPC Committee and commissioner to the prefecture; representative of the CPC in the military school council; head of the [word indistinct] section of the No 3 Field Army; political commissar of the cadre brigade to be sent south along with the PLA upon liberation; political commissar of the fourth subdistrict and prefectural CPC committee secretary of the Western Anhui Military District; and, after liberation, head of the propaganda department of the northern Shaanxi area CPC committee; alternate secretary of the Anhui Provincial CPC Committee and head of the propaganda department of the provincial CPC committee; vice governor of Anhui Province; alternate secretary of the CPC committee of the Xinjiang Autonomous Region; head of the leading party nucleus of Xinjiang University; deputy chief of the regional cultural and educational office; vice chairman of the regional CPPCC; vice chairman of the standing committee of the regional people's congress; and secretary of the CPC committee of the regional party school.

[HK131434] Vice chairman: Caodanuofuzhayier

Male, 62 years old, of Uygur nationality, a native of Yining City of Xinjiang, Caodanuofuzhayier is a CPC member. Having received a technical secondary education, he worked as a clerk, and then took up the posts of chief of staff of the (?concentrated battalion) of the Nationality Army; deputy chief of staff of the 4th Infantry Regiment; chief of staff of the 2d Infantry Regiment; head of the political department of the Nationality Army; deputy political commissar of the 5th Army; deputy director of the political department of the Urumqi PLA Units; deputy political commissar, member of the standing committee of the CPC committee and deputy secretary of the (?planning) committee of the Urumqi PLA Units; member of the standing committee of the regional CPC committee; member of the standing committee of the regional revolutionary committee; chairman of the regional physical cultural and sports commission; and member of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission.

Vice chairman: Ren Gebai

Male, 67 years old, of Han nationality, a native of Xingping County of Shaanxi Province, Ren Gebai is a CPC member. Having received a junior secondary education, he worked as a clerk and accountant with the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee. Then, he took up the posts of director of the organizational department, director of the information department, secretary general, and director of the propaganda department of the provincial CPC committee; secretary of the Baoji City CPC Committee; secretary of the Xinjiang Provincial [as heard] CYL Committee; first secretary of the Urumqi City CPC Committee; head of the leading party nucleus and leading group of the regional light industry department, secretary of the Urumqi CPC Committee; member of the standing committee of the regional CPC committee; and director of the organizational department of the regional CPC committee.

Vice chairman: Abulizi Muhemaiti

Male, 62 years old, of Uygur nationality, a native of Huocheng of Xinjiang Region, Abulizi Muhemaiti is a CPC member. Having received junior secondary education, he took up the posts of vice president of the People's Bank of Xinjiang Province [as heard], councilor of the Xinjiang Provincial [as heard] People's Government and, concurrently, chief of the central office of the province [as heard], commander of the public security brigade of the province [as heard]; commander of the Urumqi garrison headquarters; president of the regional people's higher court; deputy commissioner of (? Heping Prefecture); member and deputy secretary general of the standing committee of the regional CPPCC; and vice chairman of the regional CPPCC.

Vice chairman: Huang Yuchen

Male, 66 years old, of Han nationality, a native of Funing County of Hebei Province, Huang Yuchen is a CPC member. Having reached an educational level equivalent to a senior secondary education, he took the posts of a political department cadre, regimental [word indistinct] section head, education section head, deputy head and head of a regimental political department in the

359th Brigade; deputy political commissar and commissar of the 2d Army Group; deputy director of the political department of (? Gingqu) Infantry School under the Lanzhou Military Region; secretary of the Altay County CPC Committee; political commissar of the No 10 Agricultural Division of the production and construction corps; assistant manager of the Autonomous Region Installation General Company; secretary of the party group of the regional iron and steel production command; deputy director of the regional economic commission and, concurrently, secretary of the party group of the machinery department; vice chairman of the regional CPPCC; and director and party group secretary of the regional economic commission.

Vice chairman: Mayenur

Female, 54 years old, of Uygur nationality, a native of Huocheng of Xinjiang Region, Mayenur is a CPC member. Having received a secondary education, she took up the posts of vice chairman of the women's federation of Ili Prefecture; deputy head of the general office of the Xinjiang Provincial [as heard] government; chairman of the women's federation of Ili Autonomous Prefecture; chairman, party group deputy secretary and secretary of the regional women's federation; deputy director of the regional civil affairs department; vice chairman of the standing committee of the regional people's congress; and vice chairman of the national women's federation

Vice chairman: Yu Zhanlin

Male, 62 years old, of Hui nationality, a native of Urumqi City of Xinjiang Region, Yu Zhanlin is a CPC member. Having received a senior secondary education, he took up the following posts: chief of the general office of the Xinjiang Provincial [as heard] Public Security Department; member of the standing committee and director of the united front work department of the Urumqi City CPC Committee and, concurrently, chairman of the press association and vice mayor of Urumqi City; second secretary of the Changji Hui Autonomous Prefectural CPC Committee and head of the autonomous prefecture; deputy chief procurator of the regional people's procuratorate; director of the united front work department of the regional CPC committee; vice chairman of the regional CPPCC; and vice chairman of the standing committee of the regional people's congress.

[HK131436] Vice chairman: Amantuer

Male, 64 years old, of Kirgiz nationality, a native of Tekes of Xinjiang Region, Amantuer is a CPC member. Having received a senior secondary education, he joined the Nationality Army as a fighter in the cavalry regiment and then became chief of staff and deputy chief of staff and deputy commander of the regiment; acting commander and commander of the No 11 and No 37 cavalry regiments; deputy director of the military supply and military training department. He also held the following posts: vice chairman of the preparatory committee for the establishment of Kizilsu Autonomous Prefecture; third secretary of the autonomous prefectural CPC committee; director of the regional supervisory bureau; principal responsible person of the regional educational department; chairman of the revolutionary committee; president, leading party nucleus deputy head, and CPC committee deputy secretary of the Xinjiang Medical College; vice chairman of the regional CPPCC, president and

CPC committee deputy secretary of the Xinjiang Medical College; and vice chairman of the standing committee of the regional people's congress.

Vice chairman: Mahsut Teibov

Male, 74 years old, of Uygur nationality, Mahsut Teibov is a native of Hami of Xinjiang Region. Having received a senior secondary education, he held the following posts: director of the communications department of Xinjiang Province [as heard]; director of the communications department of the autonomous region; vice chairman of the second, third, and fourth regional CPPCC; and vice chairman of the standing committee of the regional people's congress.

Vice chairman: Wang Heting

Male, 73 years old, of Han nationality, Wang Heting is a native of Jiangyin of Jiangsu Province. Having received a university education, he held the following posts: director and, concurrently, chief engineer of the water conservancy department of the Xinjiang Regional People's Government; deputy director and, concurrently, chief engineer of the engineering section of the Xinjiang Military District; director and, concurrently, chief engineer of the Xinjiang Regional Water Conservancy Department; consultant, deputy director and, concurrently, chief engineer of the Xinjiang Regional Water Conservancy and Electric Power Department; vice chairman of the regional science and technology commission; vice chairman of the fourth regional CPPCC; deputy to the Third NPC; member of the committee of the Fifth National CPPCC; vice chairman of the standing committee of the regional people's congress; and deputy director and, concurrently chief engineer of the regional water conservancy department.

Vice chairman: Husaiyin Siyabayefu

Male, 44 years old, of Kazak nationality, a native of Yining County of Xinjiang Region, Husaiyin Siyabayefu is a CPC member. Having received a post-secondary education, he held the following posts: editor of the Kazak-language edition of ILI RIBAO; district deputy head in Ili County; deputy chief of staff of the cavalry regiment of the Nationality Army; vice chairman of the Ili mountainous area army and people organization; magistrate of Wenquan County; section head and deputy director of the regional educational department, vice-president of the Kuytun Agronomic College; vice chairman of the regional CPPCC; and deputy director of the regional educational department.

The following are the biographies of the chairman and vice chairmen of the regional people's government.

Chairman: Ismail Amat

Male, 47 years of age, of Uygur nationality, a native of Qira of Xinjiang Region, a CPC member, Ismail Amat studied for 2½ years at the Central Party School. He held the following posts: member and leader of the Qira County land reform work team; district CYL committee secretary in the county, deputy secretary of the county CYL committee; deputy secretary of the Qira County CPC



Committee and magistrate of the country; deputy director of the propaganda department of the Hotan Prefectural CPC Committee; deputy director of the cultural, educational, and political department of the regional CPC committee; member of the standing committee of the regional revolutionary committee; head of the cultural, educational, and public health section under the political work department; member of the standing committee of the regional CPC committee; secretary and, concurrently, director of the organizational department of the regional CPC committee; vice chairman of the regional revolutionary committee; secretary of the regional CPC committee; chairman of the regional people's government; political commissar of the Xinjiang Military District; member of the 10th, 11th, and 12th CPC Central Committees; and member of the standing committee of the Fifth NPC.

[HK131438] Executive vice chairman: Tian Zhong

Male, 66 years old, of Han nationality, a native of Shunyi of Beijing Municipality, Tian Zhong is a CPC member. He graduated from a senior secondary school. When he was a student, he participated in the 9 December Movement and the students' anti-Japanese movements. He also took part in the leading work and the building of the party organization in [words indistinct]. He then held the following posts: propaganda section head, secretary general, county CPC committee secretary, and prefectural CPC committee organizational department head in (?Northern Yan) special zone; section head of (Beimeng) commissioner's office and prefectural propaganda department director; director of the liaison department and director of the propaganda department of the 2d Army of the PLA Second Column; secretary general of the Southern Xinjiang Military Control Department in Xinjiang Province [as heard]; member, secretary general, and, concurrently, propaganda department director of the Southern Xinjiang Area CPC Committee; party group secretary and first deputy chief of the Southern Xinjiang Commissioner's Office; secretary general of the regional people's committee; vice chairman of the regional people's committee; director of the regional agricultural and forestry department; secretary general and, concurrently, head of the external affairs office of the regional revolutionary committee; and vice chairman of the regional government.

Vice chairman: Tuohudi Shabier

Male, 50 years old, of Uygur nationality, a native of Kalpin of Xinjiang Region, Tuohudi Shabier is a CPC member. Having reached an educational level equivalent to a senior secondary education, he held the following posts: squad leader, platoon leader; workshop party branch deputy secretary of the Xinjiang experimental tractor plant, vice chairman of the plant's trade union, head of the propaganda department of the plant CPC committee, and deputy secretary of the plant CPC committee; deputy head of the leading group, head of the leading party nucleus, deputy director, director, and deputy secretary of the party group of the regional machinery department; vice chairman of the regional government; and member of the standing committee of the regional CPC committee.

Vice chairman: Huang Baozhang

Male, 46 years old, of Han nationality, a native of (Wuyi) of Hefei City, Huang Baozhang is a CPC member. Graduated from the department of economics and trade of the China People's University in 1960, he was assigned to work in Xinjiang. He held the following posts: secretary and deputy head of the material supply section and the planning section under the regional planning commission and head of the overall planning section of the regional planning commission.

Vice chairman: Hederbai

Male, 53 years old, of Kazak nationality, a native of Jeminay of Xinjiang Region, and a CPC member, Hederbai studied at the Central Party School for 2½ years. He held the following posts: head of the agricultural and industrial department of the Jeminay County CPC Committee and deputy secretary of the county CPC committee; deputy head of the agricultural and industrial department of the Altay Prefectural CPC Committee, member of the standing committee of the prefectural CPC committee and deputy commissioner to the prefectural commissioner's office; deputy head of the finance and trade section under the production command and deputy chief of the finance office of the regional revolutionary committee; deputy secretary general of the regional CPC committee; deputy director, director, and party group secretary of the regional financial commission; member of the standing committee of the regional CPC committee.

Vice chairman: Song Hanliang

Male, 49 years old, of Han nationality, a native of Shaoxing of Zhejiang Province, Song Hanliang is a CPC member with a post-secondary educational level. Graduated from Xibei University in 1954, he worked in the Xinjiang petroleum administrative bureau as leader of the geological prospecting team under the geology teaching section, geologist in the scientific research institute, director of the regional prospecting research institute, acting deputy secretary and, concurrently, political section head of the oil field research institute, deputy head and head of the [word indistinct] office, deputy chief geologist, deputy bureau chief, and member of the standing committee of the bureau CPC committee.

Vice chairman: Yusufu Muhanmode

Male, 49 years old, a native of Tacheng of Xinjiang Region, of Uygur nationality, a CPC member, Yusufu Muhanmode graduated from the Alma-Ata Animal Husbandry and Veterinary College of the Soviet Union in 1960. He held the following posts: member of the science and technology commission of the production and construction corps; animal husbandry consultant of the fourth agricultural division, head of the animal husbandry office of the animal husbandry and veterinary center, and deputy head of the production section of the fourth agricultural division; deputy chief and chief of the animal husbandry section of the regional agricultural reclamation general bureau; deputy chief of the agricultural department under the headquarters of the production and construction corps, and senior animal husbandry specialist of the department.

CSO: 4005/831

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON OPPOSING FEUDAL SUPERSTITIONS

HK120845 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 2 May 83 p 3

[Article by Ren Jiyu [0117 4949 1937]: "On Several Questions of Breaking Down Feudal Superstitions"--abridged preface to reprint of work by Niu Xinfang [3662 2946 5364]: "Supernatural Spirits and Feudal Superstitions"]

[Text] Feudalism, which dominated China for several thousand years, must inevitably place superstitions in the service of its prerogatives and privileges. Feudalism was part of the superstructure of China's feudal society. To break down feudal superstitions, we must on the one hand rely on science, and on the other hand, we must eliminate the social factors giving rise to superstitions. These two aspects should be included in the building of socialism. With the development of science, people will have scientific minds, and superstitious and absurd ideas will lose their market. If social production is developed, people's livelihood is improved and people-to-people relations are established on the basis of mutual concern and mutual affection, there will no longer be the phenomenon of people oppressing people or people exploiting people in society, and this will contribute to the wiping out of superstitions.

There is no strict dividing line between superstition and religion. Some religious believers have made use of curing sickness and "exorcising demons" to rope in the masses and to capture followers. Some lawless religious believers have also taken advantage of their legal status to engage in numerous evil activities which are harmful to the state and the people, and some of them have already been punished by the people. Religious belief is politically protected by law, but in a world outlook, religious belief and superstition both belong to the category of idealism.

According to the stipulations of the constitution and relevant policies, people have the freedom to believe in religion. At the same time, they also have the freedom not to believe in religion. The party constitution stipulates that party members must guide their actions with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Adhering to the four basic principles is the common demand on each and every citizen. Feudal superstitions are what each and every Chinese person should oppose. Lawbreakers who take advantage of superstitions to swindle money out of and injure people should be punished according to law. This is both natural and right. As for the party members and state cadres, since they have taken Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as their guiding ideology, they cannot at the same time lead the masses to look for a "savior" in the

"Kingdom of Heaven." Since they have become public servants of the people), they must wholeheartedly rely on and believe in the masses, and should not at crucial moments, such as when combatting drought and providing disaster relief or controlling flooding and dealing with an emergency, pray for blessing and protection from gods and buddhas. This is also both natural and right. Our party constitution has been adopted and has become effective. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought embodies atheism and opposes theism. The reason feudal superstitions are rampant and the broad masses of young people and working people are hoodwinked by gods and spirits in certain localities is often the ineffective leadership of our party cadres. In any locality where religious activity is not normal, the reason is also often related to the fact that certain of our party members and cadres have not adhered to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and cannot draw a clear line of distinction between a world outlook and religious idealism, and have adopted the attitude of making concessions and exercising forbearance instead of struggling against the phenomenon of taking advantage of religion to carry out illegal activities.

We Marxists must always remember two points: 1) Marxists are atheists who not only oppose feudal superstitions, but also cannot endorse the world outlook of religious idealism. There has never been the least ambiguity about this point. 2) Marxists must respect freedom of religious belief, show sympathy for those who believe in religion, form a united front with patriotic personages of the religious circles in the patriotic work of building socialism, and cooperate with them on a long-term basis. There also has never been the least ambiguity about this point. It will be wrong if we catch sight of only one of these two points, because in this way, we will run theoretically counter to the principle of historical materialism, and this will be detrimental to the building of socialist modernization in actual life.

(This article is the preface written by the author for the reprint of the work "Supernatural Spirits and Feudal Superstitions" by Niu Xinfang, abridged by our editorial staff on publication.)

CSO: 4005/831

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BEIJING STUDENTS SAID ABANDONING STUDIES FOR COMMERCE

HK050055 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 25 Apr 83

[Station reporter's commentary: "Some Students in Beijing Are Abandoning Studies for Commerce"]

[Text] Some secondary school students in Beijing are missing classes for commerce, according to our reporter. Some of them have already abandoned studies for commerce. Some have asked to leave school for commerce, while others often miss classes to do business in the street, even though they did not ask to leave school. This situation of abandoning studies for commerce among some students poses a new problem on the education front. It must be taken seriously by the education departments and all walks of life.

Since the crushing the gang of four, primary and secondary education has gradually got onto the right track. A new education order has been formed and the study atmosphere is becoming thicker. The mistaken idea of study is useless, however, is still rooted in the thought of some students. Some of them ask the teachers: What is the use of study when a college graduate can only earn 56 yuan a month? One can still earn money even though one has not been in school. This shows that as we are doing a good job of enlivening the economy, the idea that study is useless has a new market, exerting an imperceptible influence on some students' thought. The problem of abandoning studies for commerce of some secondary school students poses new demands on education departments' ideological and political work, that is: aiming at the ideological problems, to insist on carrying out education among students in communist outlook on life and ideals with definite objects in view, in order to let them fix lofty ideals after understanding the true meaning of life and the aim of studying.

According to reports, those abandoning studies for commerce are usually students with poor results who have little chance to enter college. They say: We cannot go to college even though we study in class, so it would be better for us to earn money earlier. This situation requires that the education departments further correct the guiding ideology on running the schools, in order to overcome onesided pursuit of high proportion of students going on to college. They must let the students understand that the four modernizations program will not work without cultural knowledge. Students must study hard for the sake of the four modernizations, whether they have the chance to enter college or not.



Youngsters are the future of the state. The whole party and society should be concerned about their healthy growth. This is especially true for the education departments and the parents, who must work in close coordination and make a concerted effort to train the young generation to be qualified personnel required by the state.

CSO: 4005/831

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'BEIJING RIBAO' REPORTS FAVORABLE SITUATION EMERGING IN FAMILY PLANNING

HK060400 Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 30 Apr 83 p 1

[Report by Wu Yafang [0702 0068 5364]: "Good Situation in Family Planning Emerges in Beijing"]

[Text] On the basis of the fairly good successes achieved last year, this year Beijing presents another favorable situation in family planning: From January to March, the birth rate of the whole municipality dropped by 0.42 per 1,000 compared with the corresponding period of last year; the rate of those having a single child rose by 7.9 percent compared with the same period last year; and the rate of those couples practicing family planning and having single babies increased and the rate of those having additional babies decreased.

The emergence of such a favorable situation is closely related to the family planning propaganda drive month carried out from New Year's Day to the Spring Festival. By participating in the propaganda drive month, the broad masses have deepened their understanding and raised their consciousness in implementing the basic national policy of practicing family planning, which preliminarily changed the situation of the past that mainly adopted remedial measures. According to statistics, during the propaganda drive month, there were over 65,000 people in the whole municipality who accepted sterilization operations, of which more than 7,200 were ligation cases, 135 percent of the figure for the whole of last year; over 33,000 women used intrauterine devices, approximately 63 percent of the figure for the whole of last year. It is unprecedented in Beijing that so many of the couples of childbearing age should voluntarily practice family planning.

Since the propaganda drive month, 30,000 couples of childbearing age in the whole municipality who have only one child have determined to "have only a single child." They have received single child certificates and get preferential treatment and priorities enjoyed by "single child" families. This shows that more and more couples of childbearing age have freed themselves from the influence of feudal remnant ideas, such as "males are superior to females," "more sons, more happiness" and so on.

For years, the practice of family planning in suburbs was lagging far behind that in the municipality and that of mountainous areas in the remote suburbs

was lagging behind the plain rural areas. Such a situation is now being changed. From January to March this year, the average rate of having a single child in the various counties of the remote suburbs rose by 1-.52 percent compared with the corresponding period of the previous year, which was also above the average rate of increase of the whole municipality. Shunyi and Changping, which were advanced counties in practicing family planning, have made new records. Tongxian, Pinggu, Huairou and other counties, which failed to get the pacesetter Red Banner last year have done their best to catch up this year. Some have entered the ranks of the advanced and others have made marked improvements. The rate of having a single child in Kangzhuang commune, Yanqing County was only 38.5 percent in the past. Now they have raised it to 98.2 percent.

The family planning committee of the municipality pointed out that there were still weak links in the family planning work of the municipality at present and its development was uneven, which meant there was a need to further strengthen education work, popularize certain scientific and technical knowledge, continue to make efforts in a down-to-earth manner and strive to achieve greater successes.

CS0: 4005/831

'GUANGMING RIBAO' DISCUSSES LITERARY CRITICISM

HK091022 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 28 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Wu Yuannmai [0702 0337 6701]: "Some Random Thoughts on Literary and Art Criticism"]

[Text] The question of how to improve the quality of and work of literary and art criticism is a pressing one. Recently, Comrade Zeng Zhennan. In an article entitled "A Debate on Literary and Art Criticism" (Literature and Art No 264) gave his opinions, and after reading it I felt very stimulated and also had the feeling that there were some areas worthy of further discussion.

The Fundamental Principles of Marxist-Leninist Literary and Art Criticism

As far as the function of Marxist-Leninist literary and art criticism is concerned, it would seem today that there still exist two opposite viewpoints. One viewpoint summarizes such criticism only as a social analysis, saying that literary and art criticism is "criticism of broad human life and society." The other viewpoint summarizes such criticism only as an artistic analysis saying that it is aesthetic criticism. It is very clear that both these viewpoints are onesided.

So, what then is the function of Marxist-Leninist literary and art criticism? In 1847 in his work "German Socialism in Prose and Poetry" Engels, when discussing Goethe, wrote that only from "an aesthetic and historical point of view" can one analyze Goethe and fully understand his world view and the strong and weak points of his creative ability. A little more than 10 years later, on 18 May 1859, in his critique of Ferdinand Lassalle's historical drama "Franz Von Sickingen," Engels wrote: "As you will see sir, I judged your work from an aesthetic and historical point of view, using extremely high, indeed the highest standards to do so." When Lenin wrote his critique of the works of Tolstoy, Gorky and Pottier, he also said that he started out from "an aesthetic and historical viewpoint." All this is encapsulated in one phrase that he wrote concerning Gorky's creativity. Lenin wrote "that his work is able to raise so many questions of such significance and is able to attain such an artistic strength, ranks it among the first in world literature. Tolstoy's talented descriptions meant that the period of preparation for revolution in a country oppressed by serfdom had actually become a giant leap forward for the development of all human literature." Thus, we can see that a composite integration of both an aesthetic and an historical analysis

has always been the basic principle of Marxist-Leninist literary and art criticism. And the reason is that only this method is in line with the true nature of literature and art. Literature and art are a reflection of life and are also a social ideology. In addition, they are a very special kind of social ideology and capture the practical form of the spirit or essence of the world. Only in this way may one achieve an unbiased but all-round exposure of the "organism" of a piece of literature or art.

Although Belinsky was not a historical materialist, he was a great literary and art critic who perceived the consistency of aesthetic and historical analysis. When he discussed the ideas of Russia's Ni-ji-jian-ke [1441 1015 4675 4430] who proposed three varieties of literary and art criticism, namely, individual criticism, analytical criticism and philosophical criticism, he wrote with great clarity "every piece of art and literature must be examined and considered in terms of its relations of contemporaneity with its time and with history and in terms of the relations between the writer or artist and society. Examinations and inspections of the artist or writer's life, character and other aspects can often help understand his or her work. On the other hand, it is possible to overlook the aesthetic demands of literature or art themselves...thus not touching on the historical criticism of aesthetics, or, the other way around, not touching on the aesthetic criticism of history. Both of these are onesided and hence wrong. Criticism should be a complete whole and its many-sided view of things should originate from the same source, the same system and the same view of literature and art." ("Selected Works of Belinsky," Chinese edition, Vol 3, p 595)

Thus, no matter whether one divides up an aesthetic and an historical analysis, or opposes them to each other, or removes one of the two, the result is always onesided and biased. In relation to this question, Lenin's explanation of the analysis of the capitalist form of society in Das Kapital is of important guiding significance to literary and art criticism. Lenin wrote: "It is necessary to illustrate the whole of the capitalist form of society to the reader as a real and living thing, revealing its lifestyles and customs, the actual social manifestation of the innate class oppositions within the production relations, the political superstructure of the capitalist classes which protect the latter's rule, the ideologies of freedom and equality in the capitalist classes and the family relations within the capitalist classes." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Chinese edition, Vol 1, p 121) In other words, it is vital that one carry out an overall analysis of the target of one's criticism.

#### [HK091024] The Social Analysis and Artistic Analysis of Literary and Art Criticism

Marxist literary and art criticism stresses social analysis, but its understanding of social analysis is very different from the understanding that common sociological schools have of social analysis. Take, for example, such Soviet writers from the sociological schools of the 1920's as Fu-Li-Qi [1715 6849 1148] and Bi-lie-wei-er-ze-fu [1764 0441 4850 1422 3419 1133], who considered that a social analysis of a piece of work did not consist of seeking the "social equivalent," "the class nature" and "manifestations of the class



ideology," within the work but, rather, felt that social analysis meant seeking the reflection of the direct production process in the piece of work. The fatal weakness in this kind of criticism of literature and art lay in its inability to appreciate that literature and art are reflections of reality, its inability to appreciate the relative independence of the creative processes in literature and art and the special makeup or content within literature and art that other forms of ideology have no way of substituting. Connected with this is the fact that in their eyes aesthetic analysis was merely "the prejudices of the capitalist classes" and thus they simply ignored it. It was almost as if literary and art criticism merely had to "translate" the images of the work into politics and that would suffice. Naturally, in today's world where social analysis is regarded as pure ideological analysis, it is also onesided. There is no doubt whatsoever that any piece of work must reflect the writer or artist's thoughts (world view, class position, aesthetic ideals); otherwise, literature and art would not be seen as ideology. The main purpose and significance of social analysis should be to analyze the ideological slant of a piece of work. The problem is that the intention of social analysis should be much wider than that of ideological analysis. The ideological content of a piece of work can only be a portion of the social content, and while it may be very important, it is only a portion. To take any part of social analysis, be it class, economics, ideology, or whatever, and put it in a position above everything else, disregarding the other portions, is not scientific. Thus, to lay bare the "ideological persuasiveness" of a piece of work and regard it as "the most fundamental function of literary and art criticism" and, as a consequence, consider that "direct aesthetic appreciation must move up into ideological analysis" is even more onesided and oversimplified. What makes common sociological schools of thought common is, most importantly, the neglect of the function of aesthetics and appreciation of the beautiful in literature and art and the narrow and onesided appreciation and understanding of the function of ideology. The words of Belinsky, "correct criticism requires ideology," do not help at all, for this is not the same as saying criticism is ideological analysis. "Requires ideology" and "ideological analysis" are two different things. After Belinsky's split in the 1840's with idealism, whenever he discussed social analysis he constantly stressed that the function of criticism was to clarify and illustrate the relations between literature and art and reality. Just now I mentioned his famous words. Naturally his discussions were by no means limited to this one point. If the function of literary and art criticism is limited in a biased way to ideological analysis and if social analysis is limited only to ideological analysis, the analysis of the "persuasiveness of ideology," then this kind of "debate on literary and art criticism" may very well be turned around into an opposite type of "debate."

Marxist literary and art criticism has always emphasized artistic analysis, but its understanding and appreciation of "artistic analysis" is in no way like that of the formalist school. Thus, for example, the Soviet formalist critics of the 1920's completely isolated the phenomenon of the piece of work from society, calling a piece of work the accumulation of "techniques" and regarding the formal structure of a piece of work as the target of literary and art criticism, whereas the content was seen as irrelevant external "material." Similarly, modern regard for literary and art criticism as merely "existing in order to influence the reader's appreciation" is also unavoidably

onesided and prejudiced. It should not be forgotten that a writer is an artist of language and a uniquely creative individual, and it is vital to evaluate his or her artistic characteristics and artistic successes and failures. In addition, a good piece of literary and art criticism is like a good piece of work: It can and indeed must help the reader understand life. Surely those fine pieces of literary and art criticism by Belinsky were just that!

[HK091026] Recently people have often quoted the words of Belinsky when he said that literary and art criticism is "aesthetics in motion." There is no doubt that these words are very meaningful and splendid and that they are extremely effective in refuting the blind advocacy of social analysis in literary and art criticism. But there is, however, a certain amount of misunderstanding of the definition in which there appears to exist the belief that literary and art criticism is simply aesthetic criticism, and this is contradictory to Belinsky's original intention. In the above, I have already quoted his words "aesthetic criticism which does not touch on history" which are also onesided and incorrect. Plechanov said that within literary and art criticism "sociology should not lock the door in the face of aesthetics; rather, it should open the door for aesthetics." ("Plechanov's Discussion of Art and Aesthetics," Vol 1, p 129, Soviet publication) The significance and intention of the so-called criticism referred to as "aesthetics in motion" is not limited to this. As far as Belinsky believed, literary and art criticism should be guided by aesthetic principles and, at the same time, should provide experience and enrich aesthetics, and it was with this meaning in mind that he wrote that criticism "is constantly in motion, moving forward, gathering new material and new bases for science, and it is this that is aesthetics in motion...." ("Collected Works of Belinsky," Vol 2, p 123, Soviet publication)

#### The Relation Between Literary and Art Criticism and Literary and Artistic Creativity

One question worthy of discussion and consideration is whether literary and art criticism influences a writer or an artist. In recalling the work of Chekov, Gorky often referred to one sentence written by the former: "The critic is preferable to the horsefly--he only bothers the horse while he is plowing the fields.... I have read criticisms of my novels for 25 years, and I do not even remember one of them which had any instructive value in it and I have never heard one word of well-meant advice" ("Chekov on Art," Chinese publication, pp 441-442). As far as the writer or artist is concerned, the "horsefly" kind of critic which Chekov talked about is of course very damaging and should be eradicated.

Hence accurate, convincing, and benevolent critics are not discarded by writers and artists. Belinsky's criticism was such as this. In his work "Remembering Belinsky," Turgenev wrote that Belinsky "at once perceived beauty and ugliness, truth and falsity, and from there, courageously and without scruples, he made his judgment, expressing it completely, thoroughly, enthusiastically and effectively"; "when new talent, new novels or new poetry appeared, there was no one who could publish an earlier, better or more accurate evaluation and fitting and decisive opinion of it than Belinsky. Was it not he who first discovered and indeed first explained the ideas and intentions of Lai-meng-tuo-fu

[1490 5536 2094 1133], Gogol, Crang-cha-luo-fu [1481 1390 3157 1133]? And how many more were there in addition to them?" Such praise as this for Belinsky from Turgenev was not accidental, for he himself had received criticism and evaluation of his work from Belinsky and he learned a great deal from those criticisms. Thus, to say that critics exist only for the reader or "mainly influence the reader" and that writers and artists should wipe out all criticism, is not in keeping with reality and is not very appropriate.

It goes without saying that the influence or effect that literary and art criticism has on the writer or artist, whether such criticism is good or bad, cannot be total and indeed it has its "limits." As everyone knows, Belinsky held Gorky's "Death of the Soul" and several other works in very high esteem, regarding them as the flag bearers of the Russian "naturalist school." However, when he wrote the sequel to "Death of the Soul," Gorky completely contradicted his initial creative direction and went against Belinsky's expectations. The reasons for this were many; some were subjective reasons of the writer and others were objectively caused. However, we should not, on the basis of this, assert categorically that artistic and literary criticism has no effect on an artist or writer. In "Letters to Gorky," Belinsky sharply attacks his work "Selected Letters to Friends," and although we cannot see what direct influence this had on Gorky, it did have an enormous influence and bearing on the followers and students of the Russian "naturalist school" and this has been duly recorded in the history of 19th century Russian literature. As with criticism in other areas, literary and artistic criticism cannot always count on getting instant results, but as long as the criticism is accurate and penetrating, then the intention and value of a piece of work becomes clear very quickly. Here a question is raised regarding how the influence of criticism on a writer or artist should be seen or considered. If we examine this question in concrete time and space, looking for the presence or absence of effects in the concrete target of any given criticism, then we are being far too narrow.

[HK091028] It is wrong to believe that criticism only influences the reader and not the writer. Thus, the question itself supplies the answer to the question, for the readers of literary and art criticism include the writers themselves. A writer or artist cannot ignore the destiny of his work or the destiny of art in general, and this then determines that he himself must be a reader. The only difference is that he is a rather special kind of reader of such criticism. And it was for exactly this reason that Belinsky said that because of the surveillance of literary criticism by the masses of society, "the arbitrary decision" of literary criticism "cannot kill a good book, nor can it open up a new road for a bad book." This implies that in the long run, no matter whether one talks about the writer's creativity or the criticism of the critic, both of them are subject to social scrutiny. In view of this, we can say that the influence of literary criticism on a writer is "limited."

These "limits" of literary criticism have nothing whatsoever to do with such contentions which state that literary criticism only influences the reader and not the writer, and if the opposite is the case, then it is extending itself outside the limits of the rights of criticism. In addition, these "limits" have nothing to do with the contention that during the creative process a writer cannot but "be controlled by all kinds of external theories and opinions"

and that he or she "is only governed by attacks of the real world on him or her and his or her own artistic experiences," and which refers to this as the writer's "manifestation of creative uniqueness." Of course, it is entirely necessary and correct to oppose a critic's definitive criticism or crude intervention in a piece of work. Naturally, a writer or artist's creative uniqueness does exist, and we should not think of this uniqueness in absolute terms; after all, a writer or artist cannot write or create in a vacuum and he or she cannot but be influenced by all sorts of ideological trends in society. Just as he or she cannot exist in a living vacuum, neither can he or she exist in a vacuum of human literary development; hence, he or she cannot but be influenced by a variety of artistic trends and artistic schools of thought. Thus, in this sense, the creative uniqueness of the writer is relative. This is the first point. The second point is that correct theories and opinions, in particular Marxist theories, and the policies and principles of the party are able to guide the writer's perception and understanding of life as well as the direction and trend of its development. To accept such guidance as this does not mean that the writer loses his or her creative uniqueness; indeed, it is extremely important to accept it and have it, just as the hunter in a vast and deep forest must have a compass. The third point is that as far as the relation between the writer and reality are concerned, there is always a continuous process of practice, understanding, repeated practice and repeated understanding going on. In artistic terms there exists a constant process of improvement and development. Outstanding literary and art criticism, literary and art criticism which reflects the opinions and the demands of the people, can help the writer raise the level of his or her ideological understanding and literary standards and not the other way round. We can say that literary and art criticism is here the intermediary between the reader and the writer.

As far as relations between literary and art criticism and the writer are concerned, one more point should be mentioned, and that is that on the basis of Belinsky's understanding, literary creativity and literary criticism are not by any means "two independent spheres"; instead, they develop on a mutual basis. They "function as one, both influencing the other." Literary and art criticism should not only help the writer to appreciate and understand his or her creativity, the relations of his or her era and various successes and failures, it should also constantly examine its own aesthetic theories by means of evaluating the constant developments in literature and art. Sometimes artistic creativity can smash old, traditional concepts. Literary criticism, thereby providing the premise for the establishment of new principles of criticism and new theories of aesthetics. Sometimes literary criticism can forge ahead of creativity, preparing the way for the development of new trends and ideas in literature and art. The realistic criticism and theories of the 19th century Russian revolutionary democrats and the creativity of the contemporary Russian "naturalist school" could be said to have been in this kind of dialectical relationship. Thus, a good literary critic should not only be a good teacher and helpful friend to the writer, he or she should also be disposed to learn from the writer, the purpose being to work together in promoting the development of art and literature and reality. This is my rough understanding of the function and limits of literary and art criticism.

## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### XU JIATUN TO TAKE HONG KONG 'XINHUA' DIRECTOR POST

HK280542 Hong Kong HSIN PAO in Chinese 28 Apr 83 p 1

[Article: "Major Top-Level Reshuffle in XINHUA; Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee First Secretary Xu Jiatun Made Hong Kong XINHUA Director"]

[Text] Recently there is a major reshuffle in Hong Kong XINHUA, the highest organ set in Hong Kong by Beijing. First Director Wang Kuang and some deputy directors will leave office. It has been learned that the new director is Xu Jiatun, former first secretary of the Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee and chairman of the provincial people's congress' standing committee. Xu will come to Hong Kong on 1 May and make a "field trip" in Hong Kong for 1 month and then, formally take office on 1 June. The Hong Kong government received an official notice about the replacement of Xu Jiatun for Wang Kuang 1 week ago. It is also decided that Wang Kuang will leave Hong Kong in the near future, but his new position has not been announced. As for some other deputy directors, they have been removed from Hong Kong XINHUA for a few months. It is expected that Xu Jiatun will bring a few officials to Hong Kong to take the posts of deputy directors. Among them, one will be Li Chuwen, currently director of Shanghai's Overseas Chinese Affairs Office.

Xu Jiatun, 68, was born in Rugao County, Jiangsu Province. His personal details and the line he has followed are now attracting close attention from the people in Hong Kong.

The XINHUA Hong Kong branch has always been China's representative organ which maintains constant contact with the Hong Kong government. When the negotiations on Hong Kong's future is situated at a subtle stage, people's attention is certainly focused on the person who will take charge of this organ.

The XINHUA NEWS AGENCY was originally subordinate to the State Council, but it was once changed into a CPC central organ. Now it is again under the management of the State Council. For this reason, some people think that the new appointment of Xi Jiatun is directly related to Zhao Ziyang, premier of the State Council. However, sources with close ties to China indicated that the appointment of Xu Jiatun is not necessarily related to Premier Zhao Ziyang as some people assume, because XINHUA has a very special position--it is both an intelligence organ and a propaganda organ and it has a duty to receive and dispatch news reports. All this makes it different from other government organs.



It can set up branches in all military regions, and no other government organs have this authority. Therefore, although in appearance XINHUA is directly subordinate to the State Council; in fact, it still maintains close ties with the party central authorities.

Before Xu Jiatun is transferred to Hong Kong, he was first secretary of the Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee and chairman of the provincial people's congress' standing committee. This locally powerful person has great influence in Jiangsu Province and has close relations with Xu Shiyu, former commander of the PLA Nanjing Military Region. But the faction represented by Xu Shiyu is ideologically conservative and faithful to Mao Zedong's political line. They do not favor the reforms and democratic movements initiated by Deng Xiaoping.

In March 1977, Xu Jiatun succeeded Peng Chong as first secretary of the Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee. At that time, Hua Guofeng was in power. He appointed Peng Chong as third secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee. In fact, Peng Chong was authorized to take charge of all day-to-day work in Shanghai. From then on, Peng Chong continued to pursue the leftist line in Shanghai and was not on good terms with Deng Xiaoping's reform faction. In September last year, Peng Chong lost his position in the CPC Political Bureau and the party's central Secretariat. Xu Jiatun was also promoted by Hua Guofeng in 1977. This indicates that his promotion was not related to Deng Xiaoping. In addition, the fact that he succeeded Peng Chong also shows that he was in the same camp with such conservative career bureaucrats as Xu Shiyu and Peng Chong. However, pro-China people in Hong Kong repeatedly stressed that Xu Jiatun was disgraced during the movement of counterattacking the rightist trend of reversing verdicts. This is indeed puzzling. According to Xu Jiatun's past, it is certain that he is not in the group close to Deng Xiaoping, but it is not certain whether he is a member of the group sticking to Mao's line.

#### The New Appointment Weakens Jiangsu's Conservative Force

Xu Jiatun has to give up all his posts in Jiangsu Province after he takes over the position in Hong Kong XINHUA. There are two theories regarding this fact: 1) If Xu Jiatun is on good terms with the reform faction headed by Deng Xiaoping, he might possibly retain some positions in Jiangsu. 2) By offering an important position in Hong Kong to the local conservative force in Jiangsu, Deng's faction tries to weaken this force so as to attain a balance of power. In order to attract a locally powerful person to leave the position of first secretary of the provincial party committee, there must be another well-matched position offered. The position of Hong Kong XINHUA director is quite suitable. At the same time, a person in this position cannot gather a special force to threaten the group in the central authorities.

Taking Important Positions and Being a Member of the Central Committee Since 1977

The following are personal facts about Xu Jiatun:

1. Secretary of the Fuzhou City CPC Committee (1950-1954)
2. Secretary of the Nanjing City CPC Committee (November 1954-July 1956)
3. Member of the Secretariat of the Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee (July 1956-1966)
4. Jiangsu provincial deputy governor (October 1958-1966)
5. Deputy chairman of the Jiangsu Provincial Revolutionary Committee (1971-February 1977)
6. Secretary of the Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee (September 1975-February 1977)
7. First secretary of the Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee (March 1977-March 1983)
8. Chairman of the Jiangsu Provincial Revolutionary Committee (March 1977-December 1979)
9. Member of the 11th CPC Central Committee (August 1977-September 1982)
10. Chairman of the Jiangsu Provincial People's Congress' Standing Committee (December 1979-April 1983)
11. Member of the 12th CPC Central Committee (September 1982-November)

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## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### PATRIOTS NEED NOT BE COMMUNISTS SAYS 'RED FLAG'

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 66, Apr 83 pp 65-66

[Article by Huai Bing [2037 0393]: Comment on "RED FLAG" Article on Patriotism]

[Text] "Patriotic" is a term well known to everybody. Even elementary school students can tell you that Yue Fei, Wen Tiang-xiang and Shi Kefa were patriots. Although these students can't give you a precise definition for being "patriotic," they intuitively understand what it really means at an early age.

Yet for fear that people misunderstand the precise meaning of the term, the politicians of the CPC, from time to time, give lengthy explanations of it. Of course each explanation accompanies a certain political background.

In the fourth issue of this year, HONGQI [RED FLAG]--an official publication of the CPC Central Committee--has a commentator's article entitled "From Patriotism to Communism" (hereafter referred to as "From Patriotism"). On its publication, this article attracted a lot of attention and comment from people abroad. Some, for example, think that comparing it with the "Four Upholds." [1. Keep to the Socialist Road; 2. Uphold the Leadership of the Communist Party; 3. Uphold Marxism-Leninism and 4. Uphold on the People's Democratic Dictatorship], from the standpoint of patriotism this article sounds a lot like "A Big New Year's Sale." Some think that "this is another self-exposure of the Deng Xiaoping-Hu Yaobang Faction's attempt to use patriotism to cheat people in the past 2 years." "One unchanging rule is that whenever the Communist Party's rule is at stake 'the banner of patriotism' will be hoisted to protect themselves." My point here is not to judge whether these comments are true or how much truth there is in them, but to present my own point of view.

### The Background of the Article in 'HONGQI'

On 19 March 1981, RENMIN RIBAO had published a "special commentator" long article--"Patriotism Is the Enormous Spiritual Force for Constructing Socialism" (hereafter referred to as "Enormous Spiritual Force"). Now, 2 years later, the CPC once again discusses patriotism. Is there any difference in the actual background? What different social problems were intended to be solved?

Comments of the above mentioned Hong Kong newspapers stated that the [purpose] of the two articles is the same: The CPC is facing a crisis in its rule and has to hold high the banner of "patriotism" to protect itself. I can't agree with this sort of opinion.

Two years ago, the CPC promoted "patriotism" because the patriotic spirit of Mainland China's common people was certainly declining. This decline was inseparably tied to "the Three Crises" [lack of conviction, confidence and trust] because the people were disappointed in what the CPC had been doing over the last several decades. They were disillusioned and depressed just as in the accusation which Bai Hua [4101 2901] made in KULIAN [UNREQUITED LOVE]. "You love our country with an unrequited love...but does this country love You?" Under the circumstances, REMIN RIBAO in its article, through listing and describing the patriots of Chinese history, tried to urge people to "carry on the patriotic tradition, be determined to invigorate China." The leaders of the CPC, when faced with the facts, finally realized that using the so-called "communist" myths could no longer maintain popular morale much less inspire the people of the entire country to carry out "the Four Modernizations." Therefore the CPC leaders used the people's "Be she good or bad she's still my own mother" kind of patriotic feeling of ardent love towards their native land to move them. The CPC tried to stabilize people's emotions in such a way, one can say, that they have devoted a lot of thought to the matter.

We must note that the article "Tremendous Spiritual Force" was coordinated with the Criticism of Bai Hua's KULIAN Movement. In "Tremendous Spiritual Force" Bai Hua was not criticized by name, and even the section of KULIAN which should be criticized is not quoted from directly. The criticism is expressed in another way. For example: "It is not that I don't love our native land but that our native land does not love me" are not the original words. Afterwards, however, the April 12 JIEFANGJUN RIBAO [LIBERATION ARMY DAILY] headlined a [special commentator] article entitled "'The Four Upholds May Not Be Violated'--Commenting on the Movie Script KULIAN", saying it "not only violates the Four Basic Principles but also goes to the point of actually denying patriotism."

This kind of "theory of patriotism" is extremely leftist!

Two years have gone by, many significant changes have taken place in China, especially towards the end of last September when the extreme leftist elements in the armed forces, Wei Guoqing [7279 0948 3237] and Zhao Yiya [6392 2496 0068] were criticised. Their fall shortly thereafter made the CPC's political, economic and cultural "reforms" move ahead (though whether "smoothly" or not I cannot say with certainty). In this reform the CPC should thoroughly, conscientiously examine their policy on intellectuals. The CPC has certainly seen that one of the keys to the success or failure of the Four Modernizations ties to their treatment of intellectuals. In the past, Mao Zedong and some other CPC leaders' hostility toward, struggles against and oppression of the intellectuals had caused CPC enough evil consequences.

The basic truth about Chinese intellectuals that has long been ignored by the CPC is that the great majority of Chinese intellectuals ardently love their country, but their ideological system is completely incompatible with communism. They venerate freedom, especially intellectual freedom, but it is precisely these things which communism lacks. If the CPC insists on the intellectuals being patriots, yet at the same time firm believers in communism, their enthusiasm for work will be reduced and the progress of the Four Modernizations will be handicapped. The CPC has finally seen this fundamental fact. Therefore, the CPC pragmatic faction, which believes in the principle "Practice is the only criterion for judging truth", could not but accommodate itself to the current thinking of the intellectuals and had to settle for treating patriotism and communism separately. The CPC acknowledges that "Although we insist on the leading role of communist ideology, there is absolutely no reason whatsoever to ask everyone to immediately become a communist. There is no reason whatsoever to exclude or look down on any patriot who has not accepted communist ideology." Please note that these four words "absolutely no reason whatsoever" ought to be underlined. This is an order to leaders on every level that as long as intellectuals (of course this must include people on other levels as well) work conscientiously for the country, they should "absolutely" not be discriminated against or looked down upon.

#### Patriotism and Communism

People obviously will have their own point of view on the following section from "From Patriotism:" "We must be confident that real patriots, no matter their occupation, age, education or experience, will finally acknowledge the communists' function in the development of Chinese society and the day will finally come when they become friends of the communists." "So long as they take the road of unflagging loyalty to their country, after passing along a winding course, they will gradually, from their own personal experience, recognize the truth of communism, and eventually become communists." Some people think that these words "reveal the limits of the big sale, and [the CPC's] acknowledging many kinds of patriots at this stage is only a trick and in the end, those who do not believe in communism will be 'unpatriotic'".

I can't say that the above point of view is incorrect in any way, but I would like to discuss the more reasonable aspects of the above quoted views from another angle--the CPC's change of views in the relationship between "patriotism" and "communism."

We might as well take a look at the article criticizing KULIAN, JIEFANGJUN, RIBAO's "The Four Basic Principles May Not Be Violated". The article states: "Today when we speak of patriotism, we are not just referring to our love for the vastness and richness of our country, the beauty of the mountains and rivers, the long history and glorious cultural traditions, rather it is the ardent love for the one billion diligent and brave people under the leadership of the Communist Party, ardent love for the people's democratic dictatorship (that is the dictatorship of the proletariat) socialist country, and ardent love for the great task of building a socialist modernized country under the Party's leadership." Very clearly this is to warn the intellectuals that he who puts his love for his country in opposition to the love for the CPC and socialism has committed a heinous, unpardonable crime, just as did Bai Hua, the author of KULIAN. According to this enlightened theory loving one's country and loving the Communist Party is regarded as one thing. What kind



of ridiculous absurdity is this? one example will be enough to illustrate this: Many people can sacrifice everything for their country, but what if they don't like the Communist Party and are not accustomed to life under the rule of communism, and furthermore don't believe in Marxism-Leninism or Mao Zedong thought? According to the logic of the text described above, the only thing to do is to group them all together under the heading of anti-communist traitors!

Now the CPC has recognized its absurdity and has changed its original intention, and believes that "patriotism" can lead to "communism." Even if a person is currently not a communist and does not acknowledge "the effect the communists have had on the development of the Chinese society," he still should not be criticized severely. The implication is; even if he doesn't believe in communism and does not treat communists as friends, so long as he "travels along the road of loyalty to his country", he will recognize the truth of communism and eventually become a communist. The most noteworthy thing is that it doesn't mention the necessity of studying Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought, nor does it mention being united with the workers, peasants and soldiers. Moreover, it doesn't even mention ideology reform. What it does mention is practice. Practice is the link. Practice can naturally lead from "patriotism" to "communism." It is obvious that the CPC does hope that patriots will become communists but has already given up its harsh demand to compel people to become communists. On the contrary, what is emphasized is that everyone should make all sorts of contributions "for the prosperity of their native land."

If this new theory is to be implemented it will certainly stimulate people's enthusiasm to take part in the construction of modernization in China.

Written for People Abroad

"From Patriotism" has one more characteristic. It was written for people in Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and other overseas areas. With respect to the current situation in Hong Kong, I consider that the statement "Hong Kong People Rule Hong Kong" has a very close relation to it. The article brings out the issue in this way: "Every Chinese, no matter where he lives, Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao or other places, faces this kind of choice: Are you patriotic?" Soon afterwards the article, instead of taking the standpoint of communism, gave a positive answer from the standpoint of common morality: "Whether in the past, at present or in the future, for people with minimal sense of morality, the answer can only be in the affirmative."

The people of Hong Kong are patriotic; there are past and present proofs of that. But they also ardently love freedom. They are fond of Hong Kong, the "free" land (even though many injustices still exist there). When people think that one day they will lose their present freedoms--freedom of the press, freedom of trade and economy, freedom to travel abroad, how can they be unafraid! The CPC leaders have seen this, and so, before it was too late separated "patriotism" from "communism." Instead they merely propose the criterion of patriotism: "In international affairs to oppose hegemonism, to safeguard world peace; to accomplish the reunification of the motherland;

construction of the Four Modernization." This is relatively easy to accept and to do. Moreover, it is what patriotic people have been doing already.

The CPC's Purpose now is discussing patriotism anew is to reassure the people of Hong Kong.

An old poem says: "An essay is written in accord with its time." In synthesizing the above analyses we can see that the CPC has, in new circumstances, discussed patriotism in a broader sense. It might well be "a big sale", or "protecting itself." But in all fairness, it cannot but be affirmed that the treatment of patriotism this time is a definite step forward, and is more practical and realistic than any other time in the past. Patriots should welcome the CPC's progress on this point.

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